

OF
RESISTING
 THE
Lavvfull Magistrate
Under colour of
RELIGION,
 AND

Appendant to it, of the word *ΚΡΥΜΑ*
rendred damnation, Rom. 13.
 REPRINTED.

ALSO,

[Of the Zelots among the Jewes.
 Of taking up the Crosse.
 A vindication of Christs reprehending Saint
Peter, from the exceptions of Master
Marshall.

Augmented by the Author.

Printed in the Yeare, M DC XLVII.

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Of resisting the lawfull Magistrate

to exclude the fallacy, *plurimum interrogationum*, and to distinguish the quarrell of Religion from that other of Law, and so to meddle at this time only with that which is fully within the divines Sphere, and leave the other to some body else.

Those two termes being thus explained, & so the state of the question set, the lawfull Magistrate, and the established Law of the Kingdome on one side; and some person or persons inferiour to him, upon colour of Religion, *i.e.* for some Religion not yet established by Law, on t'other side, that it should be lawfull to them to take up Armes against him, would seem not very reasonable, if he were but a private man, abstracted from Regall power; (which sure doth not make it more lawfull to resist him than any body else) having broken no established Law, (as is supposed in the case) for what legall accusation can lye against him in a point wherein he hath not broken the Law? But then this will be more unreasonable, if moreover it be considered, that colour of Religion is so wide and unlimited a thing, that no man, that is never so much in the wrong in any opinion, but thinks himselfe in the right (for otherwise he would not continue in that error) and so that colour will be plea equally good to all sorts of errors, as well as truths: and besides, he that hath not so much Religion as to be in an error, may yet have so much wit as to make use of that Apologie for his sedition, (to wit, colour of Religion) & plead it as legally as the most zealous professour; and consequently, if that will serve turne, who ever shall but pretend to beleeve contrary to the Religion established in any Kingdome, shall be *ipso facto* absolved from all bond of Allegiance in *foro humano*, and if he will adventure the hazzard of the judgement to come, shall have no restraint laid on him by any earthly Tribunal; and so by this meanes already, the grounds of the dissolution of any government are laid by this one unpoliticke principle, and the world given up to be ruled only by the Religion (which is in effect, the will) of every man; whereas before, there was a State as well as a Church, Policy as well as Religion, a power in the Magistrates hand, besides that in every mans owne brest or conscience; and yet more particularly, a restraint for hypocrites, as well as any else, *i. e.* for pretenders of Religion, who, if this ground would hold, were left unlimited. Where, if it be interposed, that such an one that fallacionously pretends Religion, though by this disguise he escape here, yet shall surely pay for it hereafter; and
that

that that is sufficient, because there is no other Court, but of that searcher of hearts, to which the hypocrite can be bound over; I answer, that although that be true, yet it is not sufficient, because although there be a judgement to come for all crimes, yet it is notwithstanding thought necessary to have present judicatures also, not to leave all offenders to terrors at such a distance: and indged for the continuance of the peace of Communities to provide some violent restraint at the present for those, whom those greater but future determents cannot sufficiently worke on. This every man knowes is the originall of humane Laws, yea, and of Dominion its selfe, a *provision* that all men will not doe their duties for love or feare of God, (it is apparent, the Jewes would not under their *Sinagoga*) and therefore for good mens sakes, and for peace sake, and for the maintaining of Communities, those superadditions have beene thought necessary, as some thornes in the hedge of Gods Law, that may pierce the hands and sides of him that shall attempt to breake over or thorow it. From whence the conclusion will be evident, that the rules for the preserving of government must be such as shall have force to restraine the Atheist or the Hypocrite, as well as the good Christian (which sure will lesse need those restraints) or else they are utterly unsufficient to the attaining of their end, *ie* to the preserving of government, peace, community, or protecting any that lives under it: which being supposed, it will also follow, that nothing must be indulged upon any colour of Religion, (be his Religion never so true, and himselfe never so sincere in it,) which will open this gap or outlet to others, that may make the ill use of it. For this will be utterly destructive of the end of government (which is, that we may lead a peaceable and quiet life, 1 *Tim.* 2.2.) yea, and of government its selfe.

This argument being thus prosecuted and cleared, might be sufficient to determine this whole businesse, were it not for one rejoynder which is ordinarily made, the force of which is taken from that supreme care that every man ought to have of his own soule, and consequently of the maintaining of his Religion on which (to abstract from all possible disputes concerning the particular truth of it, he being perhaps not acute or artist enough to uphold it against all objecters) he is fully convinc't, the health and salvation of that wholly depends. For the maintaining of which against all the humane power in the World, if he may not take up Armes or doe

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any thing, he cannot see what can be fit for him to fight for (nothing sure being more precious, then that;) or consequently, why he may not take up that opinion of the Beyond-Sea Anabaptists, That it is not lawfull to fight at all: which if it should be yeilded to, although for the present it would produce peace, yet it would be little for the advantage of Magistrates in the issue. To this I shall answer, by concession of these foure things: 1. That Religion is to be every mans Supreme care, the prime Jewell in his Cabinet. 2. That it cannot, at least in humane consideration, be expected that any man should be lesse carefull of his false Religion (if he be really perswaded of the truth of it) then any other is of the true. Nay, 3. that if he do not use any lawfull meanes to defend that false (whilst he is convinc't it is the true) Religion; this is a sin of lukewarmnesse in him, though indeed through prepossession not to open his eyes to greater light and revelation of the truth offered to him, and perhaps through sluggishnesse not to seeke that light, be yet a farre greater sinne in him. For though no man ought to defend the contrary to what he takes to be truth, yet ought he to be most ready to deposite his error, not only when it doth, but also when it may appeare to him to be so, and to seeke to those helpes that may be instrumentall to that end. 4. That in some cases the use of Armes is not unlawfull. But then all this being thus granted, and so in effect, that all lawfull meanes may be used for the maintaining of Religion, we must yet secondly deny the inference of the Objection; upon this only ground, because though Armes may lawfully be used in some cases, and Religion be maintained by all lawfull meanes; yet Armes are not a lawfull meanes for this end, and so may not be used in this case, that is by Subjects against the lawfull Magistrate in case of Religion, at least when some other Religion is by Law established in that Kingdome. Which assertion I shall confirme only by foure Arguments: 1. Taken from the nature of Religion. 2. From examples of Christ and Christians. 3. From the very making of Christianity, and particularly of the Protestant doctrine. 4. From the Constitution of this Kingdome, which being subordinate to the other three may deserve consideration, as far as it agrees with them.

1. From the nature of Religion, which is an act of the soule, which cannot be forced or constrained by outward violence, and therefore, 'tis apparent, needs no outward defence for the maintaining

taining of it, much lesse, invasion of others. A man may be as truly religious under all the tyranny and slavery in the world, as in the most triumphant prosperous estate. They that have power to kill the body, are not able to commit the least rape upon the soule; they may rob me of my life, they cannot of my Religion; the weakest creeple in the Hospirall may defie the whole Army of the Philistines in this matter. But you will aske, Is not the outward profession and publike exercise of Religion some part of it, and that to be thus maintained, where any attempt to hinder it? To which I answer, That the first of these, the outward Profession, can no more be hindered then the former act of the soule, but rather may be most illustrious in the time of depression. I may confesse Christ in the den of Lyons, in the furnace, on the racke, on the gridiron, and when my tongue is cut out, by patient, constant suffering in that cause. Religion is not so truly professed by endeavouring to kill others, as by being killed patiently our selves rather then we will renounce it. When I fight, it may be malice, revenge, some hope of gaine (or impunity at least) by the present service, any one of a hundred worldly interests, that may helpe to whet my sword for me, or most cleerly a hope I may kill and not be killed, and so all this while here is no act of confession of Christ in thus venturing my life, although I do affirme I doe this for my Religion; because though I so affirme, men are not bound to beleieve me, there being so much oddes against me, that I do it for some-what else. But when I lay downe my life patiently, the sacrifice of my God, resigne up all possible worldly interests for the retaining of my one spiritual trust, this is to the eye of man a profession capable of no reasonable suspicion of insincerity; and indeed none so, but this.

As for the second, the publike exercise of the true Religion, it were by all men heartily to be wisht that it might be enjoyed at all times, for the advancing of Gods glory, increase of charity, conversion of others, &c. But if it may not be had by the use of lawfull meanes, it will not be required of us by God, without whose speciell providence it is not, that he permitteth us to be forbidden that exercise. Till the same providence be pleased to remove such hinderance, and open to us a lawfull way of obtaining it: the primitive Christians secret meetings will first be imitable to us, and if those be obstructed also, their solitudes next. And however that design of obtaining free exercise of our Religion, will never make any practice

Office lawfull to be used in order to that, that before was utterly unlawfull.

But are we not to take care of our children and posterity, as well as of our selves? If our Religion be now suppressed, our poore children and progeny to the end of the world may in all probability be kept in blindness and ignorance, and so left to the place of darkness irrecoverably. This objection sounds somewhat pathetically and is apt to affect our bowels, more then our reason; moves our compassion first, and throw those spectacles is then represented with improvement to our judgement. But for answer to it, though the doctrine of election of particular men, as well and as absolutely to the meanes as to the end, might be to him that acknowledges it, a sufficient amulet against this feare, and so no need of that their jealous care for their posterity, any farther than it is in their power to contribute toward them (which sure is no more then to doe what is lawfull for them to doe) yet the answer will be more satisfactory to all that acknowledge Gods providence, however opinionated concerning decrees, that whosoever considers himself as a man, much more as a father of Posterity, must have many things to trust God with, and only God, and among those nothing more, then the future estate of those which are come from him. Yet if he be importunate and still unsatisfied, unlesse he himselfe contribute somewhat to the securing of his posterity in this matter, let me tell him there is nothing (after his prayers to God and paternall blessing on them) so likely to entaile his Religion upon them, as his sealing it by his sufferings. This sure will be a more probable way to recommend his Religion to them (when they shall heare and be assured by that testimony, that their fathers thus hoped in God) then that other to distant, that they dyed in a rebellion against the King, or that this Religion had beene in their time turned out of the land, had not they done something so unlawful to protect it. Besides, the greatest prejudice which that posterity (of which we pretend such care) can suffer by my non-resistance, is only to be brought up in a contrary Religion, to heare that way first, but sure not to have their eares deafed against all others when they shall be represented, nor to bring the guilt of non-representation upon them if they be not. And if I bring forth reasonable creatures, I hope they will, by the grace of God, make use of their reason and his grace, to find out that truth that their soules are so

much

much concerned in; and if (through no default personall of theirs) they should misse of it, I hope the invinciblenesse of their ignorance, and their sincere repentance for all their sinnes and errors knowne and unknowne, and their readinesse to receive the truth, if it were or might be represented to them, would be antidote sufficient by Gods mercy in Christ to preserve them from that poyson, so they were carefull according to their meanes of knowledge to escape all other dangerr. And all this upon supposition, but not concession, that the Religion of him that would fight for it, were the truth and only truth; whereas indeed there is not a more suspicious marke of a false Religion, then that it is faine to propagate it selfe by violence; The Turkes and Papiests being the only notable examples hitherto of that practice, till some others, directly upon Popish principles a little varied in the application, have falne upon the same conclusion.

Now secondly for the examples of Christ and Christians, but first of Christ: his example (as to this purpose) is evident in three passages (besides that grand transcendent copy proposed from the aggregate of all his life and death, *Matth. 11. 29. Learn of me, for I am meeke and lowly.*) The first is, *Luk. 9. 54.* the Inhabitants of a Samaritan village would not receive Christ, *verse 53.* upon that *James* and *John* remembring what *Elias* had done in the like kinde, *1 Kings 18.* and *2 Kings 1.* ask't his judgement of it, whether he would be pleased that they should command fire to come downe from Heaven and consume them; as *Elias* did, that is, in effect, whether they should not do well to use what ever power they had (and be confident that God would assist them in it) to the destroying of those who ever they were (and yet that they were not their Magistrates it is cleere) which affronted them in the exercise of their Religion, or indeed which would not receive Christ. To this Christ answers sternely, the words are emphaticall, he turned (as to *Peter* when he gave him that checke, *Matth. 16. 23.*) and rebuked them, and said, *Ye know not what manner of spirit you are of: that is, Elias was a * Zelot, 1 Mac. 2. 58.* (the full importance of which will belong to another disquisition) & *jure zelotarum*, might do somewhat against *Baals* prophets, which will not agree with that distant calling or profession of a disciple of Christ, or Christian, they are mistaken if they thinke they may do as *Elias* did. From whence by the way is a prohibition fully legall put

* *ἡ τοῦ ζήλου*
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in against all examples of the old Testament (if any such there were) from being pleadable amongst Christians, upon this ground of *Josephus* his observing, that the Jewes were governed by a *Magistrate*, God being as it were their King on earth for a long time, presiding immediately, and interposing by his oracle, and other particular directions, as well as standing Law, as in that case of *Phinees* and *Elias*, &c. by which those acts of theirs, though authorized by no settled or ordinary Law, were yet as legall as what-ever in any other Common-wealth were done by authority legally descending from the supreme Magistrate. Which whosoever shall now apply to Christians, besides, that he professes himselfe an asserter of Enthusiasmes, will meet with Christs check to the Boanerges, *You know not what spirit you are of*: I have not authorized you to pretend to the Spirit of *Elias*, or to do what a Zelot among the Jewes might do.

The second exemplary passage to this purpose in the story of Christ is, *Matth. 26. 51*, when Christ was apprehended by those tumultuous persons, at the best but servants of the chiefe Priests and Elders (not againe by any power of lawfull Magistrate) *Peter* drew the sword and smote off one of those servants eares; upon that, Christs answer is the thing to be observed, *vers. 52*. then said *Jesus* unto him, *Put up againe thy Sword into his place, for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword*: The speech particular to *Peter*, a prime Disciple or Christian, that he having drawne the sword in defence of Christ, and in him of Christianity it selfe (a more justifiable course than ever any man since undertooke under the colour of Religion) must put it up againe; but the reason added of an unlimited universall obligingnesse to all Christians: *For all they that take the sword* (as *Peter* did, in defence of Christ, &c. or else the citation had not been pertinent to him) *shall perish by the sword*. And the two parallel places which are noted in the margin of our English Bibles are somewhat considerable, the first *Gen. 9. 6*. where that Law was given to the sonnes of *Noah*, *וְשׂוֹמְרֵי דָּמָם* concerning the effusion of blood, which sure was not any prohibition to legall, though capitall punishments of Malefactors (but rather the investing the Magistrate with that power of the sword) and yet is by Christ urged as a prohibition to Saint *Peter*, signifying that effusion of blood by him in that case to be utterly illegall, and against the intention of that old Law, not abrogated (it seemeth) by Christ. The other parallel place is, *Revel.*

13. 10. where immediately upon the repeating of those words, *He that killeth with the sword shall be killed with the sword*, is subjoynd, *Here is the patience and faith of the Saints, i.e. Christian Martyrs, verse 7. whose faith it seemes and patience must go together, which* sure is most irreconcilable with forcible resistance *

* The force of this place of Christ to Saint Per. I see M. M. hath laboured to delude, and therefore I have laboured to vindicate in another Discourse hereto appendant, to which I referre the Reader.

The third exemplary passage of Christ was in his suffering, wherein many particular circumstances might be observed, especially his answer to *Pilate, John 19. 11.* in acknowledgement of his legal power given him from above. But all that I shall observe is only in the generall, That he that had so many Legions of Angels, certainly sufficient to defend him and invade his enemies (whatsoever will be, thought of the Christians strength in *Tertullians* time to have done so too, of which more anon) did yet without the least resistance give himselfe up to suffer death. And if it should be objected, that this was to accomplish what God hath decreed (*ought not Christ to suffer these things, and thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer*) and in obedience to that decree, not as matter of example to us, or of intimation, that it had not been lawfull for him to have done otherwise. To this I answer, That as Christ was decreed to that death, and non-resistance, so are Christians (if *S. Paul* may be beleevd) predestinated to be conformed to the image of his Son, *Rom. 8.* that is, to that paterne of his in suffering, not fighting for Religion; and that revelation of Gods will in that decree being supposed, it will follow, That though Christ might have lawfully done otherwise, yet we Christians now may not, especially being commanded to learne of him particularly his meeknesse; i. especially that Lamb-like quality of the Lambe of God in his sufferings, *Isa. 53. 7.* So much for the examples of Christ.

Now for the like of Christians, it will be needlesse to mention any other then those of whom *Tertullian* and *S. Cyprian* speake, being so perfectly home to that purpose, *Tertul. in Apol. l. 37.* and his book, *Ad Scapulam*, wholly to this purpose: and *S. Cyprian* in his book against *Demetrianus*, &c. the summe of which is this, That the Christians of that age had strength sufficient either to have resisted or avenged themselves upon their heathen persecuting Governours, but in obedience to the Lawes of Christ, chose rather to dye, then do so. The severall testimonies (of which this is the Abstract) being so fully produced by many, and knowne by all, it will be more to purpose to vindicate them from all exceptions, and interpret all

evasions which the wit of this last year (beyond all that any former age pretended to) hath invented to evacuate those testimonies, witnesseth *Goodwins Anticavalierisme*, p. 23. &c. and this I shall take leave to do at large, because it is said, many have been satisfied in the lawfulness of their present course by those Answers and Objections which that book hath helped them to.

1. It is objected, the father (*Tertullian*) might easily be mistaken in making the estimate of the strength of Christians in comparison of the strength of them that were to oppose them. This is in civill termes, to say *Tertullian* wrote he knew not what, or at the softest, he might be ignorant of what he affirmeth he knew, and I am confident was more likely to know, living then, then the Objecter now, seeing or conjecturing at the distance of so many hundred yeares, who hath not the least authority (which must be the Judge in matter of fact) on his side against so distinct and cleare affirmation, not only of *Tertullian* in severall places (and that in an Apology against the Gentiles, who could and would certainly have tript him in so manifest a falsehood, if it had been such; and though the negative Argument be not fully convincing, that they did not thus tript him, because we doe not heare or read they did, yet will this be of as much force as any he hath to the contrary: This certainly, the writing to the Gentiles, will be able to conclude, that *Tertullian* had been very imprudent and treacherous to his owne cause to have affirmed a thing in defence of it, which his adversaries could so manifestly have proved a falsity, if it were not so as he affirmed) but of *Cyprian* also, who lived about the same time, and no writer of that age or since produced (I doubt not but I may say producible) to the contrary.

Of the proofes that are offered to make it appeare possible and probable that *Tertullian* should be so mistaken, the first is, *Because this was no point of faith, &c. and the more a devout father might fall under a misprision herein.* I grant he might, but that doth not prove he did, no nor that it is probable he should be a more incompetent judge in such a matter, then he that now undertakes to controll him: nay sure, lesse reason is there to deny the authority of the ancients in matters of fact (which if they were not evident to them, must needs be much lesse evident to us, who have no means to know any thing of them but their relations, nor cause to suspect such relations; but either by some impossibility in the things themselves

selves which is not here pretended, or by some other as authentick relation contradicting it, which is as little pretended) then of faith, the ground of which being only the written word of God, is common with them to us, and therefore may enable us to judge whether that which they affirm to be matter of faith, be so indeed, to be found really in that sacred Writ from whence they pretend to fetch it.

And whereas it is farther added, *That no rule of charity or reason binds us to believe another in any thing which belongs to the art or profession of another, and wherein himself is little versed or exercised.* I answer, that this saying thus applyed will take away the authority of a very great part of those Histories which no body yet hath questioned. If it were spoken of Doctrines, it might hold, and sure to that belongs the axiome quoted, *Unicuique in arte sua credendum est*; but in narrations it is the unreasonablest thing in the world to require the Narrator to be of that profession of which he relates the fact, for then no man must adventure to write a Kings life but a King; and if Mr. M. Mr. A. or Mr. S. being Ministers of the word, shall write their letters concerning the Parliaments victory at Keinton, and relate the number of the slaine on that side so far inferiour to those on the Kings, we must now upon this admonition retract that believe we then allowed them, and begin now (though too late) to question whether it were indeed a victory or no, which caused such solemne thanksgiving in this City. But then secondly, why this Relation should so wholly belong to the profession of another: i. e. not to Tertullians, I cannot yet discern. For the maine of Tertullians testimony was, That the Christians chose rather to suffer than to resist, though they were able, because Christian Religion taught the one, and forbade the other: and this sure was not without the sphere of the Divine: but for their strength to resist, depending on the number of Christians, not as even ballancing the Heathens in the Empire, but as very considerable and able to raise an Army, if they would make head, I doubt not but Tertullian, a Presbyter, that now laboured in converting and confirming Christians, and was not alwaies in his study, nay, who had lately beene a Lawyer, and so not unacquainted with the publike, might know and relate with farre better authority, then any who hath dared now to contradict him. For, for the art of ballancing the power of parties in a Kingdome, and grounds of precise determination of such differences (which as the Objecter denies Tertullian,

so he is unwilling to yeild to the States-man himselfe) you shall see anon that we have no need to make *Tertullian* Master of it, his relation will stand unmoved without it.

The second prooffe to blast *Tertullians* relation, is the ordinary one in fashion now adayes, if any man differs in opinion from us, presently to examine his whole life, and if ever he did or spoke any thing unjustifiable, lay that vehemently to his charge, and by that defame him, and then we may spare the paines of answering his reasons, disproving his assertion, he once lyed or sinned, and therefore it is ridiculous to expect any truth from him. The Argument is this. He might *mistake and miscarry* in this, for *not long after he miscarried so grievously, as to turne Montanist, who called himselfe the Holy Ghost, &c.* Just as if I should resolve to beleieve no relation of any Minister (present in either of the Armies) of the strength of that Army, untill I had examined, and were assured that he were not a Chiliast, an Arian, nor guilty of any others Heresie condemned by the Church: Yea and more, till I had some degree of assurance that he would never be such. Or as if I should resolve this man knew no Logick, because in this period he offends so much against Grammar in these words, [to turne Montanist, who called himselfe the Holy Ghost,] where the Relative [who] hath certainly no Antecedent, *Tertullian* cannot, for he called not himselfe the Holy Ghost (but only used that stile so ordinary now adayes [*nos spirituales*] and all others [*animales psychici*]; and Montanist cannot, unlesse as once * *Areopagi* signified the *Areopagites*, so now by way of compensation, Montanist must passe for *Montanus*, for he it was that called himselfe the Holy Ghost, not al or any of his followers. This way of concluding, from a slip in Grammar, an ignorance in Logick, (especially being backt with the suffrage of so many unconcluding Arguments) will be as faire Logically proceeding, as to infer, because *Tertullian* afterward turned Montanist, therefore then he spake he knew not what. But then *S. Cyprian* was no Montanist, and yet he affirmed the same that *Tertullian* doth, *contra Demetrian*. As for the approving of *dreames and furious phantasies* for true prophecies (which is added to be revenged on *Tertullian* for contradicting this Objecter) I confesse I excuse not him, but wish we might learn any thing of him, rather than that. But I hope the narration we have now in hand was neither *Maximilla's* nor *Prisca's dreames*. It was a *phantasy*, it was quite contrary

* *Smc. 7.*

trary to a *furious* one. And for the close of this Argument, wherein the warning is given as it were from Heaven, how unsafe and dangerous it is to build on the authority of men, as I desire the Reader may take it home with him, and from thence resolve to beleieve no longer any thing upon this Objecters authority, so denudate of all reason, so I do not yet see, why he that once erred, must never be allowed to speake truth, the making of true narrations being compatible with the greatest heresie in the world.

The third Argument against *Tertullians* testimony, is an observation of *some*, that there is a pronesse of inclination in much devotion in persons devoutly given to over-value the workes and piety of other men. To which my only answer shall be, that yet I hope it is not observed that devout men are so strongly inclined to tell plaine lies, to this end that they may make themselves over-valued by others. This must be *Tertullians* infirmity (if the Objecter guess aright) being a Christian himselfe, and in his Apologie labouring to raise an high opinion of Christians in the Gentiles to whom he writes, to which purpose if he should forge falsities, I must confesse it were a shrewd weaknesse, very ill becoming devotion, whatever the practice of later times may say in excuse of it.

The fourth proöfe is from a second observation, that in the pious and Orthodox Fathers themselves there are some touches, and streines, some fibres of the root of bitterness, which afterwards grew ranke in the times of Popery, &c. The Answer, All that I can collect from hence toward the conclusion designed, is, that this objecters sence is, that, for *Tertullian* to say there were Christians enough in the Romane Empire to worke revenge on their oppressors, was a spice of Popery; and so there is one new piece of Popery more added to the many which this age hath concluded under that title above the Inventory of the *Trent* Catechisme. And so now to debate this any further, or professe my selfe to opine as *Tertullian* did, is to acknowledge my selfe Popish, and that is as bad as *Prælatie*: and so from henceforth all my arguments will but passe for temptations which none but carnall men must submit to, be they never so demonstrative. Yet must I have leave to wonder how in the close of this Section these words [*the sounder and more considerate knowledge of these latter times*] can have any reference to the point in hand. For certainly, for the strength of the then Christian party, our knowledge in these latter times cannot be sounder or more considerate, then

then theirs that then lived amongst them; or if it bee, the words [*Later times*] will be improper, for sure it will be affirmed only of that time wherein Mr I. G. wrote this part of this booke; for I am confident he was the first that ever revealed this Act of more considerate knowledge to the world.

The fifth and last prooteis, That *whatever their number was, yet it is no waies likely they should be suffered to have any Armes, &c.* To which, and to all the prudentiall state motives whereon it is grounded, (and so to all that Section) I shall returne no answer, but the very words of *Tertullian*, which if all put together, they doe not defend their author from all their assaults, neither will I beleeve the Christians strength was sufficient to buckle with their adversaries. His words are plaine; first, if we would *hostes exertos agere*, deale like profest enemies, *desisset nobis vis numerorum & copiarum?* should we have wanted force of numbers? (*i. men*) or armed souldiers (for so sure *copia* signifies.) Secondly, he saith as plainly, *Castra vestra, castra implevimus*, we have filled your Castles and Campes, (there sure they were armed; and so the Thebzan Legion, which yielded themselves to the Emperours butchery, wanted neither number nor armes to have resisted.) Thirdly, he saith, *cui bello non idonei?* what warre had we not been fit for? (*etiam impares copiis*, though we had not had so many armed men as they) *qui tam libemur trucidamur*. Their despising of death, (nay, gladnesse to dye) might have put them upon any hazard unarmed, and he professes the only thing that kept them from resisting, was the Doctrine which they had learnt, that it was more lawfull to be kild, then to kill. Fourthly, he saith, They had a way of revenge without Armes, to wit, by departing from them, by that secession to have brought envy upon them (as for example, upon dislike of the present state, to have gone to New England, &c. to raise an odium upon the Old) but this they would not be so malicious as to do neither: nay, besides *amissio tot civium ipsa destructione punisset*, the losse of so many Citizens would have been a punishment by making them lesse able to resist other enemies; *plures hostes, quam crues usque romanisissent*, there would have been a greater number of enemies, then there would have been Citizens remaining. Fifthly, to put all beyond exception, he puts them in mind how one might with a few firebrands they might have wrought their revenge, if it were lawfull for them to repay evill with evill. This one last particular

cular being considered, is so full a demonstration of the truth now in debate, that supposing there were but one Christian at liberty to use that one firebrand, there can be no longer doubt but that there was sufficient strength to worke their revenge, if their Religion would have permitted them to do so. And if their Religion (as was said out of him) were the only restraint, then certainly their weakness was not. Nay, though they should after all this (by a morally impossible supposition) be supposed weake, yet if their Religion did truly restraints them, as he professes it did, this were abundantly sufficient to decide the controversie betwixt us and the Objecter.

Having proceeded thus far in answer to the severall exceptions against the truth of *Tertullians* assertion concerning the strength of those Christians, I am invited farther by a second proffer of the Objecter to make appeare, that although *Tertullians* assertion should be supposed true, yet it were insufficient, it would not reach the question, or case in hand. This certainty is strange at first sight, the case in hand being, Whether the reason of their non-resistance were their want of strength. Which in all reason must be determined negatively, when once these two things are supposed; first, that they had strength; secondly, that the command of Christ, or making of Christianity was the cause of their non-resistance, and not want of strength. But there is no truth so evident, but the cunning of such a crafts-master will be able to transforme, both from evidence and truth, and therefore (though in all justice a man might vow never to have commerce with such a man more, that should undertake thus to master his understanding, that he should beleeve and not beleeve the same thing, yeeld the want of strength to be the cause, at the very time when he acknowledges or supposes, first, no want of strength; secondly, somewhat else, to wit, the command of Christ, to be the cause) yet I shall (to exercise that Christian meeknesse which I desire to assert by my actions, as well as words) waite on this great Artificer to the second part of his Answer. The sum of which, as he first sets it, is this, that *supposing the Father spake truth* concerning their strength yet on some considerations he mentions, *It had been in those that were called to suffer both want of wisdom in respect of themselves, and of charity in respect of others, if they should have made the least resistance.* To which my only answer shall be to beseech him to consider, that this is part of *Tertullians* testimony, that the thing

that restrained them was (not this wisdom but) the doctrine of their Christ ; concluding it more lawfull to be kild, then to kill, and utterly unlawfull to repay evill for evill. And as for *charity* to others, I humbly wish that were, or may yet be considered, *how much burden, &c.* this resistance (of which he is the profest abetter) hath brought on others who are no parties on either side, nor I hope, ill Christians, if their only punishable crime be, making conscience of non-resistance.

To the next Section, in answer to a supposed reply, where he saith, *That it is not probable they had any sufficiency of strength.* I answer, that I cannot be so tame as thus to be caught, or so wild as to imagine that improbable, at a time when *Tertullians* testimony is supposed to be true (as now it is supposed) the speciall part of which testimony is yielded to be, that they had sufficient strength. And where he adds 2. that *'twas not necessary they should be of one mind and judgement touching this sufficiency, &c.* I answer, that we doe not assert any such necessity, nor doth our cause any way incline us to it, or want that refuge. For sure we affirme not, that they did actually resist (to which only, that concurrence would have bene necessary) but only that they would not, though they were able, and to the evidencing of that, the concurrence of judgement you speake of, is not materiall, for if they that did so thinke of their strength, were upon grounds of Christian patience and obedience, as far from doing or attempting it, as any other ; these men would certainly have continued in the same obedience, though all the world had concurred with them in the opinion of their sufficiency. For, to professe Christian meeknesse first, and then upon any supervenient occurrence to be ready for resistance, though it might be a character of the temporary (that I say not hypocritical) subjection of our dayes, yet must not we be so groundlesly uncharitable as to affix it on those Christians ; and though the Objecter should renounce his present supposition, and againe contend, that *Tertullian* lied, and so divest him of all authority as a father, of common honesty as a relater, yet sure he will not be so severe to deny him so much of an ordinary *Rhetor*, as to make that an ingredient in his Apology for Christians, which were the highest piece of an accusation. Grant but *Tertullian* to have any skill in any of his professions, suppose him but an Orator, if not a Divine, a tolerable pleader, if not a tolerable man, allow him but skill at the

Deske

Deske, (his first Trade, before he was a Christian) the reputation of a little eloquence, though no sincerity, and his very pleadings will be argumentative, though his words may not.

But 'tis added in the third place, *that having no invitation, countenance, or command from any authority, &c. their case was differing from ours.* To which I answer againe, 1, That it was not still the want of such command or invitation, that restrained them, but the contrary command of Christ, as hath beene cleare; but then secondly, I pray let me aske a question as of one which I will in reason suppose not to be unacquainted with the sence of *Junius Brutus*, and *Buchanan*, and it is only this, whether, if all temporall Magistrates neglect the worke of Reformation, the Ministers may not and ought not to attempt it, if they can hope to prevaile? If so, then though the case be not just the same now and then, yet the difference is not materiall or pertinent, for then sure Ministers there would have been to invite, if that had been the Christian way.

But when it is added within three lines, that we are *invited, &c. by as great and as lawfull an authority as this State hath any.* I must confesse I had thought that the King and both Houses had beene a greater authority; unless the meaning be not simply, but *ad hoc*, as great and as lawfull an authority as this State hath any, to doe what is now done, and then sure it shall be granted by me, who profess my selfe to suppose it impossible that any command given to this purpose should be lawfull, or able to secure any from that sentence of Saint *Pauls*, *They that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* Yet once more, it is possible that the Authour, by *this State* may meane a Republique, which though it be a word of some signification in some other Countries, yet that our Lawes acknowledge any such here, I have not yet beene taught, nor sure can any part of this Kingdome without the King, be capable of this Title, till we have moulded a new forme of Government, and new Lawes, as the Modell of that; for undoubtedly the old ones are not acquainted with any such. But that I will hope is not the meaning, because it is added that *inferiour Magistrates, &c.* which seemeth to acknowledge that the Parliament without the King are but inferiour Magistrates. Of the agreeablenesse of that Title of *Magistrates and Rulers*, to that body without the head, I purpose not to speake; only to that which is added, that they *should be obeyed, as well as Kings*, I answer, (without canvassing of the place

in Saint Peter, which others have done) that if they are to be obeyed, but as well as Kings, then, 1. The King that commands not to do it, is to be obeyed, as well as they. 2. Not they against the King, for that the inferiority implies. An inferior Magistrate, in that that is lawfull, and within his Commission, and not thwarted by a superiour, is to be obeyed as well as if he were superiour in that, or as well as the superiour in any thing else; but sure not to the despising of the superiours lawfull commands, when they doe interpose, for that were more then as well. When the King commands that which God and the Law doth not forbid, it may be said, that his commands are to be obeyed as well as Gods, which the Apostle intimates, when he saith, *you must be subject for conscience sake*; and the ground of this truth is, because indeed God the supreme, commands that subjection to the King in such matters. But sure for all this the King is not to be obeyed against God, or where any countermand of his hath intervened, for this were in Saint Peters phrase to obey men (not as well, but) rather then God. Thus is it in that other case, the inferior is to be obeyed, as well as the superiour (in things lawfull and not contradictory to the Superiours commands) upon that ground of necessity of obedience to the Superiour, from whom he hath his Commission, and as S. Peter saith, *si autem in domino, is sent of him*, i. e. of, or by that superiour, supereminent person, the King; but sure this holds not against the superiour, as in the other case it did not. 3. Not they when they command to take up Armes against him whom Saint Paul bids me not resist upon paine of damnation, and by my oath of Allegiance (if it were other wise lawfull) I have bound my selfe that I will not. Whereupon it is observable, that the assertors of this warre, are now brought to undertake, that damnation, or *exilium*, Rom. 13. shall not signifie damnation (poore men, what a weake thred doth the Sword hang in, that is just over their soules? and what a sad condition would it be, if to one that dyes a confident Martyr in this warre, damnation at the day of doome should prove to signifie damnation?) but some temporary mulct; and yet withall that this war is not against the King (when yet that other against the Earle of Essex his Army, is not doubted to be against the Parliament) which two so strange, and yet distant holds (for if it be not against the King, what need of that other evasion from the damnation, that belongs to resisters, or if resisters shall carry it away so easily, why may

may not War be avowed against the King, by any that will adventure his wrath?) do sure signifie mens consciences to be strangely grounded, and themselves very groundlesly confident, which are satisfied upon no better principles, and whose practices are capable of no better security.

Upon these grounds thus laid, of obedience due to inferiour, as well as superiour (supream it should be, for so ~~inferiour~~ must here signifie, and I hope that our King amongst us is such) Magistrates, the Objecter puts a case, *tha: the inferiour Governour requires that which is only honest, &c. as to do our best to defend our selves against those that, contrary to law and conscience, assault us, the superiour that which is contrary to both, viz. to sit still, &c.* In this case he resolves it is most cleare on his side, for (whether the lawfulnessse or necessity he intimates not of) *resistance against the superiour*. To this I answer, that it is hard to beleieve that the Objecter did not purposely intend to deceive his Reader by that phrase [*only honest, &c.*]. For that is a very doubtfull sence, it may signifie, that nothing else were honest, and then it is in that sence apparently false, for if it were honest to take up Armes against a King, yet sure may not taking-up Armes be honest too, for (what ever the crime of neutrality signifies in these dayes) it may be lawfull for a man to suffer injurie, to suffer himselfe to be defraded (and that by a King, as well as by an equall) 1 Cor. 6. 7. I hope resistance, though it have lately commenced, and taken upon it the degree of vertue, yet hath not turned Projector, got the monopoly of vertue and honesty into its hand, that it should engrosse and enclose that title, and there be no other vertue or honesty besides this; yet would the affirmations of some out of no meaner place then the Pulpit, [that all that are for the King at this time are Atheists or Papists] conclude and perswade thus much. But I would faine beleieve that the meaning of the Phrase [*only honest, &c.*] is, [no more then honest] i. e. not necessary. But if that be it, then sure the superiour Governour may deserve to be obeyed in forbidding it, as well as the inferiour in commanding: For it will not follow in that case, that the King commands somewhat contrary to the Law of God, and nature, but only somewhat contrary to something which was agreeable,, i. e. not against the Law of God and nature, i. e. prohibits a thing lawfull, not necessary, as the other is supposed to command a thing lawfull, not necessary: which sure were as free for him to do, as for

the inferiour, supposing, as the objecter supposes, *that the command of God indifferently extends it for obedience to either, in things that are lawfull*. Hence it appears that in the case here put, the command of the Superiour is falsely affirmed, to be an unlawfull command (for then the matter of the inferiours command must be supposed, *not only honest, but necessary*) and if it be a lawfull one, it may and will then make void that obligation for that particular, which is supposed by the law of God to lye on us, to obey the inferiour in that which is lawfull. The short is, if that which is here spoken of, be in it selfe necessary, we must do it, as in spite of all countermands of the superiour, so without all commands or invitations of the inferiour Magistrate; but if it be not necessary in it selfe, neither will the commands of an inferiour make it necessary to any who stands prohibited by a superiour.

In the fourth Section the Objecter offers at a reason, why those ancient Christians (supposing strength in them) should *rather patiently suffer*, because before their conversion *they had consented to the Emperours power, whereby those Edicts were made for the murdering of Christians, &c.* To which I answer, that it is ridiculous to seeke out or impose upon the Reader probable or possible reasons for their non-resistance, when *Tertullian* in their name specifies the true only reason, the Gospell doctrine of Christian patience and obedience. But for the particular of their consent, much might be added, to shew the vanity of that plea, if that were *santi*, or pertinent. I shall only say, that if the Emperour legally murdered *Christians*, then their consent to that Law (or to the power of the Emperour who made it) would not bind or disperse with them to omit any thing necessary or otherwise commanded by any greater power; for if I sweare to doe so, I must breake my oath, *non obstante* what is concluded from, *Psalm. 15. 4.* And if it were not otherwise necessary or commanded by greater power, then neither is resistance now. And then the Kings prohibition will as much restraine me in any thing not necessary, as their heathenish consent could be supposed to restraine them then. Nay, he that makes that *consent a nullity* (as this Objecter in fine doth) what reason can he render why he that gave that consent, might not plead that nullity, for such (though carnall) advantages as life is, if he could make good his pleading, and no other restraint lie on him, but only that null-consent?

For the fifth Section, How that may be lawfull [for an entire body to do, which may not be lawfull for a part] and so for us now, though not for them; I answer, That if the phrase [entire body] signifie the head and members too, then the period is true; if nor, then the whole Section is fallacious: for it follows not, that though the representative body without the head is more, then a party in the Empire, without the representation of the rest, therefore the first may resist forcibly, though the second should not: for he that from Saint Paul denies resistance of Subjects indefinitely to Kings, will not be moved from that hold, by discerning some other slight differences between Subjects, unless they may appeare such that on one side they may authorize resistance. But then secondly, If the Doctrine of Christian patience, &c. were the cause of Non-resistance, then sure was not this other consideration wherein they differ from us, the cause of it.

Well, having gone thus far, in attendance on this Objecter, and to exercise that patience, which we so much desire to perswade: there is yet the greatest Fort behinde unvanquished, erected in the sixth Section, and rescued from all supposed assailants in six particulars following, set up like so many fortresses about it. The sum of it is (for I would not be bound to recite what every one may read in a printed Booke) that if those Primitive Christians had strength, and might lawfully have resisted, (by the way Tertullian only affirms the first, and is so far from supposing, that he absolutely denies the second) yet might God hide this liberty from them; and so his after dispensations did require that he should hide it from them, and yet manifest it to us: and these dispensations he specifies to be Gods counsell of Antichrists coming into the world then, and of his being destroyed, and cast out now. The hiding of this truth of Subjects power and right to resist their Superiours, being necessary to helpe Antichrist up to his throne. And the Commonalty of Christians doing contrary to the will of their Superiours, being the men that must have the princially hand in executing Gods judgements upon the Whore. Rev. 18. 4, 5, 6, & 9. that is, in the pulling him downe.

To this whole Discourse (the first I am confident that ever was written on this Subject) I must answer by degrees, (that I may not omit any thing that is added for prooffe or explication by the Author) and first, I must desire the word *may or might* [may hide] may be changed into plaine intelligible sense. Say, did God
hide

hide the liberty of resistance from those Primitive Christians, or no? If he did not, then away with this whole Section, and particularly that affirmation, Pag. 30. that Gods dispensations did require that it should be hid from them: but if God did indeed hide it; then first, this is more than a supposition, it is a plaine concession that those Christians *Terullian* speakes of, might not lawfully have resisted, though they had had strength (which was so long denied) for the light being hidden, they must have done it without faith, or against conscience, yea, and against Gods determinate counsell, who, (the Objecter saith) had great causes to hide it, of which one sure must be, that it should not be used. 2. Here is a great secret of new Divinity, that God hides truths (not as Christ spake in parables, because they seeing see not, *Math. 13. 13.* but) on purpose to helpe Antichrist to his Throne. (of which more anon.) As for that instance of those *that eat herbs*, I pray consider, whether that be pertinent to prove that God purposely hides truths from us, or particularly this truth in hand. For sure that liberty God hid from none in the Apostles time; for the preaching of the Gospell manifested the lawfulness of meats, as well as herbs, only some saw not, or considered not, that that was manifested, and thinking some old legall obligation (as others did circumcision) to lye still on them, submitted to it out of piety. Now apply this to the point in hand. Certainly the liberty of forcible resistance against Superiours (though it should be granted) would never be found of this kind, a liberty brought into the world by Christ, which before had not beene there. If he shall affirme it was, (as he must if that instance of eating be pertinent) though by the concession of the latter part, he must disclaime all his former old-Testament pleas for resistance, from the people about *Jonathan*, from *David*, and from *Elisha*; yet will he never give any probable appearance for the affirmation in the first part, that Christ gave any such new before-unrevealed liberty: but rather, if any such liberty before there were, it was undoubtedly taken away by Christ, from whose example and precepts it was that those Primitive Christians, and we also, dare not make use of that supposed liberty. The only thing I can imagine possible to be replied, is, that though the comparison hold not exactly, yet it may hold in this, that as that liberty of eating was hid to some (it matters not by whom, or how) so this of resisting to others. To which

I returne, that then it is confest, that this instance doth only illustrate the Objecters meaning, but not so much as probably confirme his assertion: and then I am sorry I have considered it so long, and therefore to bring the point to an issue, I must thirdly aske, Where this liberty, or the authority for this liberty was, when it was thus hid. Was it in the old Testament? Though it should be there, as it is not, yet it might be taken away in the New, (as those things which in the old Testament, or the law of nature, are neereſt to giving of that liberty, are absolutely reformed by Christs Doctrine and practice) and then that were good for nothing. Was it in the new? Then deale plainly, shew the place in the new Testament which gives that liberty, and is now found out by posterity, though hidden to them. Sure we have found out no new Scripture, to them unknowne (the Nazarites Gospell though it rehearse some speeches of Christ not in our Canon, yet is not produced for any of this nature: that famous one which it fathers on our Saviour, *Nunquam latissis nisi cum fratribus in charitate videritis*, is of another ſtampe, I would to God this Apocryphall Precept might be Canonically among us) and for any place of the knowne Canon miſ-underſtood by them, and now clearly unclouded and revealed to us in a right understanding, which inforces this, I must be so charitable to the Objecter, as to thinke that if he had discerned any ſuch, he would not have failed to have shewed it us, (as well as his interpretations of *Rom. 13.* and *Revel. 17. 17.*) if it were but to leave us unexcusable for not being his Profelytes. Beyond these severall wayes of revelation, if posterity have had any other (or indeed any but that of understanding of Scripture, by Scripture light, or assistance of Gods Spirit, which was not before understood) from whence to fetch a liberty which is not in the old Bible, or is denied in the New, this is it which we desire so to warne men of under the name of Enthusiasme, which is hardly ever distinguishable from a demure frensie, and I must call it now the dreame of the dreamers, *Jude 8.* that despise dominion, speake evill of dignities, but farre from divine revelation. And yet that this is the thing that this Objecter hath an eye to, (and not the understanding of Scripture more clearly, then before) may appeare, in that he affirms this truth *but from their teachers*, (though not from all without exception) who yet if it were hid in the Scripture, were of all others most unlikely not

to finde it. As for that offer of prooffe, that this truth might lye hid, because there was no occasion of studying it: I answer, that in *Terrullians* dayes, when there was occasion to study it, (as great as ever can arise any, because the persecutions then, were as heavy persecutions) we may by that argument thinke they would have searcht into it, at least the light then would not in ordinary account have proved more dim, as he saith it did, if the Scripture were the Candlestick where this light was held out. That which he adds in the next place, *of the spirit of courage, patience, and constancy, which was by God powred out on the Church in those dayes, and so made Martyrdome seeme a desirable thing to them,* is more like a reason indeed of their not enquiring into this liberty: and herein, I must acknowledge the ingenuity of the Objecter, or the power of truth which extorted this reason from him, so little to the advantage of his cause, and so much of ours. For this is certainly the bottome of the businesse, the want of Christian courage, patience, &c. (for that kind of courage is not in fighting, but suffering) hath helpt us of this last age to that [dreaune, not] revelation of liberty, which was never heard of among the ancients. But by the way, it seemes by the Objecter that now Martyrdome is no desirable thing, nor taking up Christs Crosse, nor following of him. We are resolved to have no more to do with Martyrdome, thinke that the thousand yeares for the Saints to reigne on earth are now at hand, and so suffering, or conformity to the Image of Christ, no longer the thing we are predestined to, we must let up a new trade of fighting, destroying, resisting, rebelling, leave enduring to those *Christians which were furnished with extraordinary strength from Heaven.* Which are the Objecters words of the Primitive Christians, which, saith he, kept them from studying cases and questions about lawfulnessse of escaping, (which word meere shame hath put in, utterly impertinently, instead of resisting) I confesse, I had thought our *Queene Mary* Martyr, had had this strength from Heaven too; and that it was not like miracles, an extraordinary gift only for the Infancy of the Church: but now it seemes we must expect to see no more Martyrs, till we can remove Mountaines againe: This Objecter, it is cleare, is resolved against it at this time, and that his actions, as well as writings, will be ready to testify. For my owne part, I trust I shall be as ready to oppose the one, as I am to confute the other, and

to thinke nothing more Christian still, then to be crucified with my Christ, and if I might chuse the Article of Christian Doctrine which I should most desire to seale with my bloud, I thinke it would be that of meeknesse, patience, non-resistance, peaceablenesse, charity, which I conceive Christ hath been so passionately earnest to recommend unto me, as most diametrically opposite to the most unchristian damning sins of pride, ambition, malice, rebellion, unquietnesse, discontentednesse, &c.

Fourthly, for the whole discourse about Antichrist, there must many things be returned. 1. That it is not tollerable in a Christian to affirme, that God purposely hid truths, that Antichrist might come into the world; this so harsh sence the Objecter first disguises in another Phrase, that God by speciall dispensation suffered him to make many truths his footstoole; but indeed that reaches not home to the businesse undertaken to bee proved: For it followes not thence, that this of resisting Superiours was one of those truths, if it were, then God suffered him to make use of it, which he could not but by its being made knowne, whereas he supposes it was then hid; If he meane Antichrist hid it, and so made the hiding it, his footstoole. Then 1. it was not God that hid it, as before he said, but Antichrist. 2. It had then been manifest before, and then began to be hid, when there was most occasion to use it, which before he made improbable. If I were put upon the wracke I could not give a rationall account of those words of the Objecter last recited, or such as may but be consonant to his present undertakings: that which followes is more cleare, that God caused a dead sleepe to fall upon those truths: If he did, I wonder who first raised them out of that dead sleepe; Jun. Brutus, or Buckhan, or Mr Goodwin? but still it seemes God did on purpose hide truths in favour and assistance to Antichrist to helpe him into the world, and this, not like the Spirit of slumber sent on men for their punishment, but on divine truths which sure had not deserved it: yet more particularly that the doctrine of liberty to resist Superiours should be so opposite in a speciall manner to Antichrist, that it was faine to be laid asleepe to give him passage into his Throne, seemeth very strange to me; 1. Because one peece of Antichrists pride is to exalt himselfe above all that is called God, which is mostly interpreted Kings, and if rightly, then they that do so enhance the power of the people; as to make the King

universis minorum, and loose the raines of obedience so far as to permit resistance: will I feare discern some part of the marke of the Beast upon their owne breasts. 2. Because the *miris*, 2 *Thes.* 26, and *miris*, verl. 7. that hindred, or let Antichrist, and was like to do so still, till he were taken out of the way, was by the Fathers commonly resolved to be the Roman Empire or Imperiall Sovereignty of Rome, see *Tert. De resurr. c. 24. Ambr. com. in 2. Thes. Hier. qu. 11. ad Alga: Chrys. in 2 Thes. Cyr. Hier. catech. 11. Aug. de civ. Dei. l. 10. c. 19. Lact. l. 7. c. 25. Occum. in loc. & ib. Sever. & Gen. & therefore on the sacking of Rome by Alaricus the Goth, S. Jerome presently expected that Antichrist should come, and in his booke *ad Ageruchian de monogam*, wonders that any one would thinke of marrying at that time, Hence have learned men observed, was that custome in the most ancient times to pray in their Lyturgies for the lasting of the Roman Empire, that so Antichrist might be long a coming, *Tert. Apoc. c. 33. ad Scap. c. 2.* From whence though nothing else can be demonstratively inferred, yet this certainly may: that in those many Fathers opinion the power of Kings continuing intire, was not like to helpe Antichrist in, nor consequently the bringing downe that power by the revelation of the doctrine of resistance, like to cause an abortion in *Antichrists birth*, or now tend to the casting him out of the world.*

As for the evidence of that Revelation-rule that the communalty in opposition to their Kings, must have the great stroke in executing Gods judgement on Antichrist, proved, *Revel. 18. 4, 6, 9.* I must answer, 5. That I shall never wonder enough at the power of Prejudice evidenced in this Objecter, by what he hath put together to this purpose, Pag. 32. To prove that the people contrary to their Kings shall destroy Antichrist, this is thought by him sufficient evidence, that *the people are commanded to go out of her*, verse 4. when verl. 9. it followes that the *Kings of the earth shall bewaile her, and lament for her*: The unconcludingnesse of the argument I shall not insist on, but only look forward to another place which he cites immediately, *Revel. 17. 17. Where the ten Kings are said to hate the Whore, and make her desolate.* Now the word Kings in this last place signifies, saith the Objecter, not the persons of Kings but their states and Kingdomes, and to this purpose proofes are produced, but 1. *I beseech him to deale ingenuously*: doth the word King ever signify

nifie the Kingdome oppoed to the King. 1. Any part of the Kingdome excluding the King; but then 2. See the mystery of prejudice which I mentioned, where it is for the Objecters turne, *Rev.* 18. The Kings of the earth must signifie their persons in opposition to their people, but where it is not for his turne, *Revel.* 17. There the word Kings, must signifie the people, or any but the King: Would not the spirit of meeknesse have easily compounded this businesse, and have given the word (Kings) leave in both places, to signifie both their persons and their Realmes, and so have reconciled the places, that some Kings with their Kingdomes should bewaile her, and some againe hate her, they bewaile her, that continued with her till her destruction, when they see the smoake of her burning, 18. 9 and others hate her who had once tasted of her filthinesse, and repented and left her before; this were very agreeable to those texts, if we had not peremptorily resolved to fetch some other sence out of them. 3. That first place alone by it selfe concludes only thus much, that good men come (or are exhorted to come) out from Antichrist, and avenge the whore, and earthly men that have love to her, bewaile her, but not that either the first are all common people (for sure Kings may be called Gods people, or be in that number) or the second none but Kings; As for the prooffe that those people, verse 4. are the subjects of those Kings, vers. 9. Because they are such as come out of *Babylon*, sure that is very weake, for *Babylon* being the Province of the Whore, there may be Kings as well as Subjects there, and those Kings come out too, as well as those subjects. For suppose King and people of *England* all Popish, why might they not all reforme together? It seemes Antichrist must never be cast out of a Kingdome till the people do it in spight of the King, and therefore it is concluded that it was not done here in the dayes of King *Edward*, nor Queen *Elizabeth*, nor King *James*, and now since the new Revelations have assured men that Antichrist must now be cast out utterly from among us, it is become necessary that our Sovereigne should be a Papist, and as much zeale and as solid arguments used to perswade our friends that indeed he is so, (though his constant word and actions now evidence the contrary) as are produced to maintaine any other article of our new Saints believe: one of the most suspected and hated heresies of these dayes, is to doubt of the Popish affections of our Superi-

ours, especially the King: Well by this doctrine, if the King should chance not to be a Papist, he must turne to be one, or else Popery cannot be cast out in his time. If so he should do, turne Papist on purpose to prepare, or dispose his Kingdome to turne Antichrist our, this might be but answerable to Gods hiding of truths to that end to helpe Antichrist in. But should his Majesty be so malicious as to prove Protestant in earnest, then what would become of that sure word of Prophecy that so many have been perswaded to depend on, that Antichrist must now be cast out of this Kingdome, which saith the Objecter cannot be, unlesse the people do it while the King bewailes. I hope I have said enough of this.

As for the connexion of this observation, with the conclusion in hand (though it matter little now, the observation is proved so false, yet) I shall adde, that if the people were to do that great feat of casting out Antichrist, yet it appeares not how liberty of forcible resisting their Kings should be a necessary requisite to the work, unlesse the lawfull King be the Antichrist in every country, for otherwise it is very possible that though they obey their Kings they may resist Antichrist; though they love and reverence their lawfull Superiour, they may hate and abjure their unlawfull: Once more, whereas it is againe repeated, that the *knowledge of the supposed subjects liberty would have kept Antichrist from his throne*, I repeat again, that if it would, God sure would have revealed into them, of all others, unlesse it appeare, that God was more angry with the sins of Christians in *Tertullians* age, and so more fought against them, then he doth in ours against us: For though God may of mercy undeserved throw downe Antichrist, yet that he should so immediately and illustriously labour to set him up, unlesse out of deserved indignation to a people, is not easily resolved; yet if this may appeare *de facto* to be so, I shall yeeld; till then, *16120*.

The last blot laid on *Tertullian* to obliterate all whatsoever can be fetcht from him is, that the *authority of Tertullian*, and the *submission of the Christians being both Apocriphall*, is too light to weigh against the practice of the great Prophet *Elisha*, &c. To which I answer, that that being supposed, yet the grounds on which *Tertullian* saith the Christians of his time did so patiently suffer, *viz.* the doctrine of Christian patience and meeknesse, are not Apocriphall, nor inferiour to that of *Elisha*, though it were supposed to be argumentative, or concluding for resistance. For any thing else added

added by the Objecter in this businesse; as the disproving of *Tertulians* relations on grounds of Christian doctrine, from the contrary practice of *David* and *Elisha*; though I might answer in one word, that Christians are restrained from some things which were practised without fault in the Old-Testament, yet because those Old-Testament examples have been fully cleared by many others of our writers, and indeed are not pertinent to the discourse I was upon when this Objecter first met me in the way, and led me this chace after him, I shall not be so impertinent as to adde any thing, but conceive my selfe to have vindicated the testimonies of those Fathers from all possible objections, and so to have joyned the practice of Christians, (those ancient Primitive ones) and proved them correspondent to the example of Christ, and so to have made good my second argument proposed from the example of Christ and Christians.

My third is from the very making of Christianity, and particularly of the Protestant Doctrine. And 1. Of Christianity, which as it differs from the Lawes both of *Moses* and Nature, so it constantly reformes and perfects those (dissolves not anything that was morall in them, nor promises impunity for non-performance, but upon repentance & reformation) elevates and raises them up to an higher pitch, at least then Jewes or naturall men had conceived or understood themselves obliged to, which the ancient Fathers generally resolve to be the meaning of his *εισαγγελισμου*, *Mat. 5. 17.* to fill up all vacuities in those former Lawes, and adde unto them that perfection which should be proportionable to that greater measure of grace now afforded under the Gospell. Thus in that Sermon upon the mount, *μακροὶ ἡ καρδία, ὁ φιλανθρωπος*, that top of practicall Divinity, (set down by way of particular instance of Christs purpose, *εὐκατανοουὶ ὁ ἴσχυς, ὁ δὲ ἀληθεύς*) besides the third proximall beatitude, *Blessed are the meeke*, which certainly though it may containe more, yet excludes not, but principally notes the meeke, obedient Subjects under Government, the non-resisters, and therefore hath the same promise annex which the Law had given in the fifth Commandement ('twas there, That thy dayes may be long in the Land; 'tis here, They shall possesse the earth, *ψαλ. 37. 11.* whence it is cited, refers clearly to the Land of *Canaan*, though improved into a higher sense now in the Gospell.) And againe, besides the seventh beatitude of the peacemakers, or peace-

peaceable (*εἰρηστικός* and *εἰρηναῖος*, being equivalent in the Scripture stile, *vid. Jam.* 3. 18.) and the eighth, of those that are persecuted for righteousness sake, (whence *since* is not excluded the cause of Religion and Christianity it selfe) as also of taking up the Crosse (of which I designe another discourse to speake, more largely) which sure are opposit^e enough to forcible resisting of lawfull Magistrates, especially for Religion: besides all these, I say, in the introduction to that Sermon, there is in the body of the Sermon it selfe, a *ἡ ἐξουσία ἡμῶν καὶ ἀντιτάσσεται τῷ κράτει*, which sure prohibits all forcible resisting or violence even to the *ἐκκλησίαν*, the injurious or (*some* from *νόμος*) troublesome person, which if it should chance to be our King, would not certainly be more lawfully or Christianly resisted, then any body else; especially, when it is our Religion which is invaded, which of all other things a whole Army of plunderers cannot rob us of, (as they may of the cloke, *verse* 40.) and therefore needs not our violence to retaine it; nor is ever injured, but more illustrated by our suffering. To this may be added the consideration of the *depositum* left by Christ with his Disciples, *pacem*, peace, *John* 14. 27. (which it seemes only the beloved Disciple had recorded) Peace I leave with you, externall peace, for the *pacem meam*, my peace followes after as a gift perhaps peculiar to them that prized and kept this legacy, and if it be objected that Christ came not to send peace, but a sword, *Mat.* 12. 34. that sure refers not to Christs prime counsell or purpose, but to the event; what he foresaw it would be, or what he had determined it ought (which manner of speech is very ordinary in all Authors) for the precept is punctuall to *Peter* against the use of the sword, and to all the Disciples for preserving of peace, *Mat.* 9. 50. and to that it is thought the mention of salt belongs in that place, which among other qualities is, *ἡ συντηγνὴ* unitive, have salt in your selves, and have peace one with another. On these Texts many effectually emphaticall descants are added by the Apostles, *Rom.* 12. 18. If it be possible, as much as in you lyeth, live peaceably with all men, and *Heb.* 12. 14. follow peace with all men, *φιλονεικίαν*, an agonisticall word to run for it is a prize, or *ῥεσβίον*, and *1 Thes.* 4. 11. *ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἐνταπείνωσιν*, we render it, study (it is, be emulous, contend, strive, make it your ambition) to be quiet, to which I shall only adde two places more, *Jam.* 3. 17, 18. The wisdom which cometh from above, is first pure, then peaceable, &c. which before, *verse* 13. he had called meeknesse

meeknesse of wifdom, then 1 *Per.* 3.3. where after direction for the obedience of wives to husbands (and we know the kingdome relation to the King is besides others, that of a wife to an husband who is therefore espoused to it with the ring at his Coronation) it is added, *in tibi a p[ro]p[ri]o in op[er]e q[uo]d h[ab]et in m[un]do*, that her bravery consists in the sincerity (I thinke it should be rendred) of a meeke and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price. If it be objected, that these many places of peace are but generall wide illations against resistance, or however, no more pertinent to the case about resisting of Magistrates, then of any other private man: I answer, that though I might thus argue, *à minori*, (and also assume that no other resistance is neare so destructive of peace, as that resisting of the Supreme power, that being indeed the shaking of government it selfe, which is the band of peace, and the dissolving of which returns us to the state of common hostility, leaves us a wilderness of Beares or Tygers, not a society of men) yet I shall confesse, that I intended not to lay any more weight on this part of the Argument, then any man will acknowledge it able to beare, and that therefore before I inferre my conclusion of non-resistance from the making of Christianity, I must adde to these places so passionate for peace, another sort of places concerning obedience, of which, (without naming the places being so knowne already) I shall venture this observation, that in the New Testament, especially the Epistles of the Apostles (which were all written in time of the reigne of wicked Héathen bloody adversaries of Christianity, and can referre to none but those) there is no one Christian vertue, or Article of Faith more clearly delivered, more effectually enforced upon our understandings and affections to be acknowledged by the one (against all pretence of Christian liberty to the contrary) and submitted to by the other, then that of obedience to Kings, &c. It were most easie to vindicate those places from all the glosses and scholia's that the writers of this year, *M. Goodwin* in *imprimis*, *M. Bury*, *M. Bridger*, &c. have invented to free themselves and others from the obedience most strictly required there, but I would not againe trouble any ingenuous man with such extravagant discourses as even now I learn by experience would be necessary to answer such exceptions, which mens wit or somewhat worse hath produced: besides, those places have been by others vindicated already: I shall only say, whosoever can without coloured spectacles find ground

for the present resistance in those places of Scripture, *Rom. 13. 1 Pet. 2. 13. 18.* &c. so far as to settle and quiet a conscience, I shal not conceive my understanding fit to duell with his, any more then I would wrestle with a fiend, or combate with the fire, which *Pythagoras* tels me would avails little; he that can be sure that damnation (*Rom. 13. 2.*) signifies not damnation, but some temporary Mult only (if the King should prove able to inflict it) when verse 5. it is added we must needs be subject, not onely for wrath, (i.e. feare of temporary punishment) but also for conscience sake, (which when it accules, bindes over to eternall wrath, or damnation) I profess I know not what Camell he may not swallow; I shall onely in the bowells of Christ desire him to consider, what a sad condition it would prove, if being on this confidence engaged, and by Gods hand taken away in this warre hee should at Gods tribunall heare Saint *Paul* avouch, that by *aplas* or damnation in that place, he did meane no lesse then eternall damnation without repentance: O how would his countenance change, his thoughts trouble him, the joynts of his loynes be loosed, and his knees smite one against another, one generall *aplas* possesse all his faculties, and *M. Bridg.* &c. be unable to settle him or give him confidence any longer, when the *Tikel* shall come out of the Wall over against that interpretation of his, that it is weighed in the ballance (of truth and judgement) and found wanting; Of this word *aplas* I designe another disquisition: onely I could not deferre to forewarne the Reader of his danger in this place, and now I shall not doubt from the making of Christianity to inferre my conclusion of non-resistance, not doubting but the premisses will beare it.

For the other part of this third Argument from the making of the Protestant Doctrine, I would faine be very brief by way of compensation for my former importunity, and therefore shall engage my selfe not to trouble the Reader with citations or names, which yet might bee brought by hundreds of reformed Writers for every *Junius Brutus*, and *Buchanan* that hath appeared for the contrary since the Reformation. Though the truth is, such as these if they must be called Protestants, are yet in this somewhat more then that title ever imported, I may say perfect Jesuites in their principles, and resolutions concerning Kings (no Papist of any other Order hath gone so far) although they differ somewhat in the seat of that power of making such resistance. That which I designed

to say on this point is onely this; That the doctrine of Alegiance to Kings, and of their supremacy in all causes, hath alwayes been counted a principall head of difference between the Protestants and the worst of Papists, and a special evidence which most men have used, to conclude the Papacy to be : *Antichristus* the Antichrist, is this that the Pope exalteth himselfe above all that is called Gods : 1. The Kings of the earth, that he in case the King be not a Catholicke, absolves Subjects from their Allegiance to him, that hee pretends power over them in spirituall things, and in temporall in *ordine ad spiritualia*. It is not unknowne to any that the Oath of Supremacy if not of Allegiance among us is principally designed to discern and discover Papists, of whom, one of the prayers appoynted for the fifth of *November* affirms, that their Religion is Rebellion, that sure is, that one maine difference betwixt Romish and English, Popish and Protestant Doctrine is that of liberty to Rebell in some cases, particularly in that of Religion : In opposition to all which Doctrines or insinuations of theirs, there is no Church that ever exprest their sense in any Article more fully and largely, then ours hath in this particular, witnesse the severall parts of the Homily of Disobedience and Rebellion, printed in *Queene Elizabeths* time. And if herein all other parts of the Reformed Church have not gone as farre as we, yet shall I not retract my asserting this Doctrine purely Protestant, 1. Because this Kingdome hath alwayes beene esteemed a prime part of the Reformation, wherein the Papacy was legally cast out, not by violence or tumults of the people, and so nothing rejected but what in sobriety was necessary to be rejected, and therefore our Church hath generally been the *Norma*, or rule by which others have desired to compose themselves, and never yet any other so preferred before us, as that our ancestours could thinke fit to conforme to them. 2. Because in many other countries the government is not Regall, or Monarchicall, as here it is, *Bodin. l. 2. c. 5. de rep.* can finde none of this nature in *Europe*, but *France* and *Spaine*, and *England* and *Scotland* (I conceive *Ireland* he contained under the word *Angliam*) in which, saith hee, *Reges sine controversiâ jura omnia majestatis habent per se : Singulis civibus nec universis fas est* (it seemes Master *Dale* our Embassadour from whom hee had received his advertisements of the state of this Kingdome had not then heard that our King though

Singulis major is universis minor, which certainly had divested him of all Sovereignty; it being impossible that the Sovereigne or Supreme of all should be *Minor* then any) *Summi principis vitam, famam aut fortunas in discrimen vocare, seu vi, seu iudicio constituto id fiat, &c.* As for the Emperour of Germany, Charles the fifth by name, he saith plainly, *Tyrannide cives ad rempublicam oppressit, num jura maiestatis non haberet*, which if it be true will be some excuse to the German Princes in what they did at that time in taking up Armes for Religion, though it is most certaine what he affirms, that when those Princes consulted with M. Luther about it, *num id jure divino liceret*, whether it were lawfull in the sight of God, *Ille negavit*, he resolved it utterly unlawfull : this answer saith Bodin, Luther gave *Perinde atque si Carolus summum imperii solus haberet*, and therefore much more must it be given when the case is of a Monarch indeed, as he concludes; and though he acknowledge that distinction, which it seemes Luther did not, betwixt that Emperour and true Monarchs, yet is he faine to passe a sad observation upon the fact of those Princes in taking up Armes for Religion, against Luther's advice, *Ita funestum bellum reique publica calamitosum susceptum est, cum ingenti principum ac civium strage, quia justa causa nulla videri potest adversus patriam arma sumendi*. I would to God those words were English in every of our hearts : a direfull and calamitous war with the slaughter of all sorts, because (though it were for Religion, yet) no cause can be counted just of taking up Armes against one's Countrey. The truth is, what was done there though, 1. very unhappily, and 2. against no Monarch, hath been thought imitable by Knox and Buchanan in Scotland, and from thence infused into some few into England as Perry, &c. But by Gods providence hath formerly bin timously restrained, & not broken out to the defaming of our Protestant profession. It seemes now our sinnes are ripe for such a judgement, the land divided into two extreame sinfull parts; one by their sinnes fitted to suffer under this doctrine, others sinfull enough to be permitted to broach and prosecute it. I meekly thanke God, that though my sins are strangely great, yet he hath not given me up to that latter judgement. I conceive I have also given some hints at least of proving my position from the making of the Protestant Doctrine.

Now for the last Topicke, taken from the constitution of this Kingdom. Though that be the Lawyers taske, very prosperously under-

undertaken by others, yet one generall notion there is of our Lawes, which from my childhood I have imbibed, and therefore conceive common to all others with me; and it is this, That the Lawe of this Kingdome put no man (no Papiſts I am ſure) to death for Religion. When Jeſuits and Seminary-Prieſts have ſuffered, every man is ſo perfect in the Law, as to know that it is for Treason, by a Statute that makes it ſuch for them to come into this Kingdome. The truth of this, and the conſtant pleading of it againſt all Objecters, hath made me ſwallow it as a principle of our Law, that even Popery ſtrictly taken (and not only as now this laſt yeare it hath learnt to enlarge its importance) is no capirall crime. From whence, I profeſſe, I know no impediment to forbid me to conclude, that in the conſtitution of our State no warre for Religion is accounted a lawfull warre; for that it ſhould be lawfull to kill whole multitudes without any inditement, yea, and by attempting it, to endanger, at leaſt, our owne, *i.e.* Many good Proteſtants lives, for that, which if it were proved againſt any ſingle man, would not touch his life in the leaſt degree, is, I muſt acknowledge, one of the *Arcana belli*, which I cannot ſee into. And therefore *Sleidan* tells us of *M. Luther*, that he would not allow a warre, though but defensive, with the Turke himſelfe, *com lib. 13. pag. 403.* and though after he had mitigated his opinion upon a new ſtate of the queſtion, and perſwaded the Emperour to it, yet it was with this limitation, *Modò nec vindicta, nec gloria, nec emolumenti cauſa ſubeatur*, (three things that are very rarely kept out of warre) *ſed tantum ut ſparſiſſimum latro- nem, non ex religionis, ſed furti & injuriarum actione aggrediantur.* It ſeems the cauſe of Religion, although it were of Chriſtianity againſt Mahometiſme, was not to * him a ſufficient warrant for a defensive warre. But then 2. For this warre to be waged againſt the Prince, (or by any one but the Prince, in a Monarchy, as this is) who whatſoever he hath not, hath certainly the power of the ſword immediately from God (or elſe muſt be acknowledged not to have it at all, for this power cannot be in any people originally, or any

**Vid. Luib. in Mat. 13. in poſtillu. Hic verò vide, ut maleſani baſtenuſ fuerimus quod Turcas bel-*

to, hereticos igne, Judeos necis metu & aliis injuriis volumus ad fidem compellere, & Zizania noſtra vivibus evellere, ac ſi nos illi eſſemus quibus poteſtas eſſet in corda & ſpiritus, & in noſtra manu omnes homines ad juſtitiam & pietatem revocare, &c. Obſerve here, how mad we have hitherto been, who would by war compell the Turkes to the Faith, Hereticks by fire, the Jewes by feare of being put to death, and to pull up the tares by our owne ſtrength, as if we were they who have power over the hearts and ſpirits of men, and as if it were in our hands to recall men to juſtice and piety.

where but in God, and therefore it may be most truly said, that though the regall power were confest to be first given by the people, yet the power of the sword, wherewith regality is endowed, would be a superaddition of Gods, never belonging to regall or whatever other power, till God annex it, in *Gen. 9. 6.* which also seemes to be out of all dispute in this Kingdome, even at this time, where the universall body of the commonalty, even by those that would have the regall power originally in them, is not yet affirmed to have any aggregate power, any farther then every man single out of government was presumed to have over himself, which sure was not power of his own life: for even in nature there is *Felonia de se*, &c. therefore the representative body of the Commons, is so farre from being a Judicature in capitall matters, that it cannot administer an Oath) and therefore is not justly invisable by any subject, or community of subjects, who certainly have not that power, nor pretend to have it, and when they take it, thinke it necessary to excuse that fact by pretence of necessity, which every body knows, is the colour for those things which have no ordinary meanes of justifying them (like that which Divines say of saving of children and idiots, &c. by some extraordinary way.) Nay, 3. For this warre to be waged, not against Popery, truly so called, but against the only true Protestant Religion, as it stands (and by attempting to make new Lawes is acknowledged as yet to stand) established by the old Lawes of the Land, and therefore is faine to be called Popish (and our Martyr-reformers not able, by those fiery chariots of theirs, to get out of the confines of *Babylon*) that it may be fit to be destroyed: just as the Primitive Christians were by the persecuters put in wild beasts skins, that in those shapes they might be devoured: this I confesse is to me a complication of riddles, (and therefore put by some Artifts under that deep-dark-phraze, and title of Fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome) to which certainly no liberty or right of the Subject in *Magna Charta*, no nor legislative power, will enable any man to give any intelligible, much lesse legall name: At which I professe I am not ill pleased, because this I hope will keep it from being recorded to posterity.

I have done with my fourth Argument, and am heartily sorry I have kept my Reader so long from his Prayers, which must set an end to this controversie, for sure Arguments are too blunt to doe it; I beseech God to direct all our hearts to a constant use of those
meanes

meanes (together with fasting and abstinence, at least from farther provoking sins) to exorcize that evill spirit that hath divided his titles (of ἰχθύς υἱός, Σάτωρ, διδάσκαλος, καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τίτλοι, and now at length, αὐτοῦ, & ἀντιπῶν,) among us, and by those meanes infused his mortiferous poyson into the very veines of this whole Kingdome.

*I creat the fruit of the lips, peace, peace to him that is farre off,
&c. and I will heale him. Thou hast moved the land, and divided
it, heale the sores thereof, for it shaketh.*

Of

... (faint, illegible text) ...

... (faint, illegible text) ...

... (faint, illegible text) ...

... (faint, illegible text) ...



Of the Word KPIMA.



He word *κρίμα*, according to its origination, signifies Censure, Judgement, and in its making hath no intimation, either of the quality of the offence to which that judgment belongs, or of the Judge who inflicts it: that it belongs to humane judgments, or sentences of temporall punishments sometimes, is apparent by *Luke 23. 40.* where one Thiefe saith to the other, *ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς κρινόμενος ἔσμι*, meaning it seems, the same sentence of death, or capitall punishment, called *κρίμα θανάτου*, *C. 24. 20.* judgement of death temporall; and that at other times it signifies also divine judgment is as apparent, *Acts 24. 26.* *ἡ κρίσις ἣν κρινόμενος ἵσταται*, judgment to come, that is, certainly at the end of this world, at the day of doom. So *Rom. 2. 2.* *κρίμα τοῦ Θεοῦ*, the judgement of God, and so againe, ver. 3. which ver. 5. is explained to be wrath or punishment against the day of wrath &c. so *Heb. 6. 2.* resurrection of the dead, and eternall judgement. The truth is in this sense it is most what taken in this Book, see *Matth. 23. 14.* *Mar. 12. 40.* *Luk. 20. 47.* *Rom. 3. 8.* and therefore *Hesychius*, the best Glossary for the new-Testament, renders it *κρίμα, ἀντιμισθία τοῦ Θεοῦ*, Gods retribution or payment, or rendering according to works. It will not be worth while to survey and consider every place where the word is used, he that shall doe so, will perhaps resolve with me to accept of that glossary, and understand it constantly of Gods judgement; unlesse when the circumstances of the place shall enforce the contrary, as they doe in the places first mentioned, and *1 Cor. 6. 7.* But then when the context rather leads to the second sense, there will be great danger for any man to apply it to humane judgments, for by so doing, he may flatter himself or others in some sin, and run into that *κρίμα*, as it signifies eternall judgement, when by that mis-understanding he doth not conceive himselfe in any danger of it. Of places which without all

controversie thus interpret themselves, I will mention two, 2 *Pet.* 2. 3. *ἡ τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀποκάλυψιν*, we render it, whose judgement of a long time lingreth not: which that it belongs to eternall vengeance, appears by the next words, *ἡ ἐκδίκησις αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐσχάτῃ*, wee render it, Their damnation, it is literally, Their destruction sleepeeth not. The second place is, 1 *Tim.* 3. 6. *ὁ ἀκούων ἐν ἁμαρτίᾳ ὁ καταδικάζεται*, fall into the condemnation of the Devill; that is, sure into that sentence that fell upon *Lucifer* for his pride (being cast out of Heaven, and reserved to chaines of eternall darknesse) for the person spoken of here, is the Novice, or new Convert, lifted up with pride, just parallel to the Angels newly created, lifted up with pride also, the crimes and the persons parallel, and so sure the punishment also. Now three places more there are which appear to me by the same meanes of evidence, or rule of interpreting, to belong to the same sense, though I cannot say of them as I did before, [without controversie] For I see it is not onely doubted by some, whether they doe belong to this sense or no, but that it is resolved they doe not: which resolution sure must be obnoxious to some danger, that I say no worse of it. The first of these places is, *Rom.* 13. 2, *ὁ ἀποκρίνων ἐαυτῷ ἐξουσίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ*: we render it, They that resist shall receive to themselves damnation: But say others, it must be rendered judgement, as that signifies some temporary punishment which the higher powers may inflict, and nothing else: and this they labour to make appeare by the words following: For Rulers are a terror to evill works, and he beareth not the sword in vaine, &c. To which I answer, That there is no doubt made by me or any, but that Rulers are to punish men for evill workes, particularly that of resistance against them, and not onely that, but also crimes against our brethren, and God; and in that respect it is added, verse 4. *ὁ ἀποκρίνων ἐστὶν ὁ ἀποκρίνων ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου*, the Minister or Officer of God he is, and executioner for wrath, that is punishment temporall to him (indefinitely) that doth evill. But doth it follow from hence, that either he that makes forcible resistance against the Superiour or Supreme power, or that commits any other sin (which the Supreme power is set to avenge or punish temporally) shall incurre no eternall punishment? If this new Divinity should be entertained, it must be priviledge and protection to other sins, as well as resistance and rebellion, even to all that any judicall lawes have power to punish, for in these also he is the Minister

nister of God, *indus utitur*, an avenger, or executioner for punishment, and there is no avoiding it; but this must be extended indefinitely, or universally, *ut ei quod opus est*, to any malefactor punishable by that power, or that comes under this cognizance; and so by this Logick, he that is hanged may not be damned, what ever his crime be, an execution on earth shal be as good as a Purgatory to excuse him from any other punishment. But then secondly, suppose a Rebelle escape the hand of justice here below, by flight, &c. nay that he prosper in his rebellion, and get the better of it, that the King be not able to punish him; nay, yet farther, that he proceed higher, Depose the King, and get into his place, What *est* is he like to receive, if that signifie onely the Kings wrath or temporall punishment? Sure this prosperousnesse of the crime must make it cease to be a crime, make it commence vertue, as the Turkes on their principles are wont to resolve it, saith *Busbequius*, Ep. 4. --- *Ex opinione qua Turcis insedis ut res quocunque consilio institutas, si bene cadunt, ad Deum Authorem referant, &c.* Or else give it, (though it be a sinne never so great, and unrepented of) perfect impunity both in this world, and in another; And certainly this is no jest, for he that observes the behaviours of many men, (the no manner of regrets or reluctancies in their course of forcible resistance, (save only when they conceive it goes not on so prosperously as it was wont) and the great weekly industry that is used to persuade all men of the continued prosperity of the side, as being conceived farre more usefull and instrumentall to their ends, then the demonstration of the justice of it, mens consciences being resolved more by the Diurnall, then the Bible, by the Intelligencer then the Divine, unlesse he turne Intelligencer also, I would wee had not so many of those Pluralists.) Will have reason to resolve that this Divinity is the principle by which they move; which if it be not yet brought to absurdities enough, then looke a little forward to the conclusion, deduced and infer'd, verse 5. Wherefore ye must be subject, not onely for wrath, but also for conscience sake. Words by Prophetick Spirit added by the Apostle, as it were on purpose to contradict *in terminis*, that new interpretation. Wrath signifies that temporall punishment, ver. 4. which if it were the all that is meant by *ira*, then how can it bee true that wee must be subject not onely for wrath? Certainly he that resists is not subject (*omnis*, is all one with *omni*), and both directly

contrary to *ἡ ἀποκρίσις*, the word used both in the third & fifth verse) and therefore if we must be subject not onely for wrath, as that signifies temporall punishment, then he that resists, shall receive more then wrath, as that signifies temporall punishment, viz. *κρίμα*, in our rendring, condemnation, if he doe not prevent it timously by repentance: which sure is the importance of the *ἀποκρίσις*, but also for conscience sake; that if he doe it not, it will bee sinne to him, wound his conscience, bind him over to that punishment which belongs to an accusing conscience, (which sure is more then a temporall Mulct) which is farther cleare from the first verse of that chapter, the command of subjection. For sure every Divine or Apostolical cōmand entred into the Canon of Scripture, doth bind conscience, and the breach of it knowne and deliberate, is no lesse then a damning sin, even under the Gospel, mortiferous and destructive without repentance, which is just equivalent to the *ἀποκρίσις*, he shall receive damnation in our way of interpreting it. So much for that first place.

The second is, 1 Cor. 11. 29. He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation, (or as our margent, judgment) to himselfe, &c. This place I finde avouched for the confirming of the former interpretation, *Rom. 13*. That *κρίμα* signifies onely Temporall punishment, and thus it is knowne the Socinians commonly interpret this place, *per κρίμα non sempiternam damnationem nominatum, sed supplicium in genere intelligendum esse*. Volkelius l. 9. de ver. rel. l. 4. c. 22. That which is used to perswade this to be probable is that which followes verse 30. for this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep, which belonging onely to Temporall punishments, is conceived to bee a periphrasis of the *κρίμα* judgement, which should seem consequently to be so also: and indeed Volkelius hath added other proofes, 1. Because the Apostle speaks of any one single act of this sinne of unworthy receiving (not of any habit or custome) which hee conceives not actually damning now under the second covenant. 2. Because it is verse 32. and when we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord that wee should not be condemned, &c. To these three (and I know not that there are produced any more) probabilities, I conceive cleare satisfaction may be given by those who affirme *κρίμα* to containe in it eternall punishment; Though if it were onely temporall punishment, yet being sicknesse, &c. which are not inflicted by the

Magistrate

Magistrate, but by the hand of God, it will not come home to that which was by Master Br. affirmed of the word, in *Rom. 13.* For this must be premised, that we doe not conceive it to signifie eternall punishments, *exclusive*, or so as to exclude temporall, but eternall and sometimes Temporal too (for so sure he that for his Rebellion receives damnation, hereafter, is not secure from being hang'd, drawne, and quartered here) or else eternall if he repent not, and perhaps Temporal though he doe. By *κρίμα*, as I said, I understand with *Hesychius*, *ἐν τω αἰῶνι θία*, Gods vengeance whether here, or in another world, but I say in this place both of them, (and so ordinarily in the former also.) This being premised, the word *κρίμα* may still containe in it eternall punishments, verse 29. though many for this cause of unworthy receiving did fall sicke and dye, verse 20. for 1. they might both dye and be damned too, or if as *Volkelius* saith, the word *καὶ μὲν*, *obdormiscunt*, sleep, be never used in the new Testament, of those that are destinyed to eternall destruction, then still may this be very reconcileable with our interpretation that many for this cause are weak and sickly, and many others sleep, God chastising some by diseases to reforme them, and punishing others, who as *Volkelius* acknowledges, were guilty onely of some single act of the sin onely, with death temporall or shortning their dayes: which certainly hinders not but that God might punish others that did customarily commit this sinne (and perhaps with greater aggravations) with no lesse then eternall death, however that it were just for him to doe so, what ever hee did, it is plaine by verse 27. which is parallel to the 29. whosoever shall eat and drinke unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, that is in *Volkelius* his own words, *Ipsum Christi corpus ac sanguinem contemnere & ignominia afficere, ac quantum in ipsis est profanare proculcareque censendi sunt*, shall bee thought to contemne and disgrace, and as much as in them lies to profane, and tread under feet the body and blood of Christ, which what is it but to count the blood of the Covenant an unholy thing, *Heb. 10. 29*? Which yet there is used as a maine aggravation of that sinne, for which, saith the Apostle there remaines no more sacrifice, verse 26. It is apparent that the phrase *ἐν τῷ σώματι*, guilty of the body, &c. is parallel to the Latine, *Reus Majestatis*, used for a Traytor, and sure signifies no lesse then a guilt of a great injury to Christ, which how any man can affirme to bee a sinne to which no

damna-

damnation belongs (supposing no antidote of invincible ignorance or weaknesse, nor recovery by repentance, nor gracious pardon of God in not imputing some single act of it) I professe my selfe not to discern, though I thinke I have weighed impartially all that is said of it. This sure will keep the first proof from being any longer probable, and for the second, (or first of *Volkelius*) it is already in effect answered too, for though he that is guilty onely of some one act of this sin found mercy, yet sure they that are guilty of the customary sin, may speed worse, and indeed of all indefinitely the Apostle speakes according to the sin, as when hee saith the drunkard and adulterer shall not inherit the kingdome of God. Where yet perhaps he that is guilty only of one such act may finde mercy. For the last proof, I conceive it so farre from being a probable one against me, that I shall resolve it a convincing one on my side, for if those that were sick, &c. were chastned of the Lord, that they should not be condemned, then sure if they had not been so chastned, nor reformed by that chastening, they should have been condemned with the worlds, and so their temporall judgements may be a meanes through the mercy of God in Christ to free them from their eternal, but not an argument that eternal was not due to them, but a perfect intimation that it was.

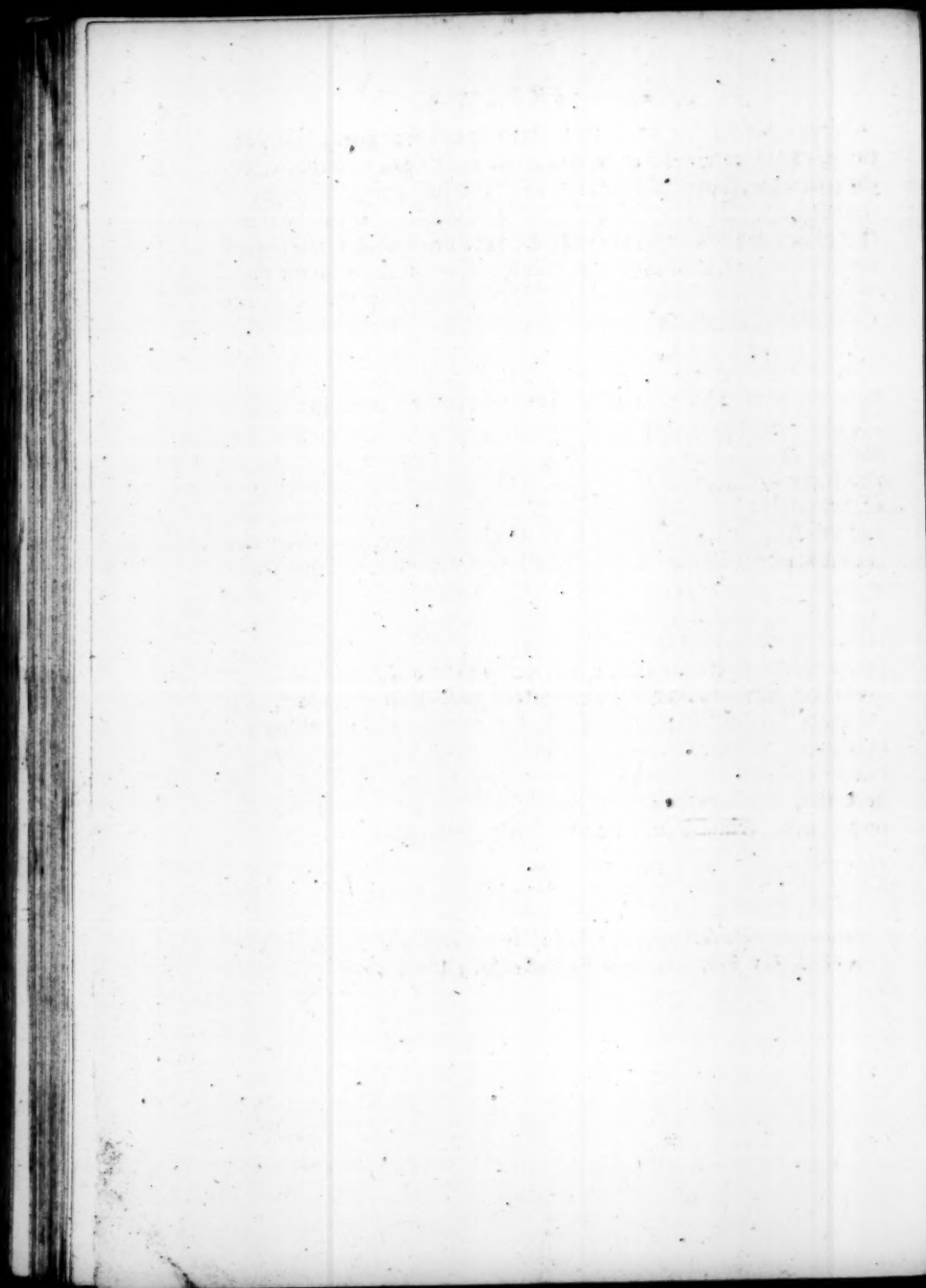
The third place (which is not indeed of much importance in it selfe, but onely is used to give countenance to the interpretation in the two former places) is *1 Pet. 4. 17.* the time is come that judgement must begin at the house of God. Here, say they, *οικου* judgement is that that befalls the house of God, the godly; therefore but temporall judgements.

To which I answer in a word, that here is a mistake in applying judgement in its latitude to the house of God, when onely it is affirmed by Saint *Peter* of the *αρχη* *αυτου*, or *τις αρχη*, the beginning or first part of judgement: for of the *αρχη* or judgement in this verse, there are specified two parts, *τις αρχη*, the first part, & *τις τελος* the end (or as the word *τελος* seemes to found in our English, the tale) of it, as *Psal. 75. 8.* the cup of Gods displeasure, or punitive justice, is supposed to consist of two parts, 1. red wine (or *αιμα*) and 2. mixture of Myrrhe and other poysonous bitter spices, called *οσμυνη*, *Apocal. 4. 10.* and *οσμυνη* *Mat. 24. 17.* and both together, *οσμυνη* *Apocal. 15. 2.* myrrhate wine, *Mark 15. 25.* Now this cup is powred out, and tasted of indefinitely, by the godly some part of it; but the

the dregs thereof, i. e. the myrrhe-bitter part, that goes to the bottom, is left for the wicked to wring out and drinke: so that onely the tollerable, supportable, easie part of the judgement belongs unto the godly, but the end, the dregs, the unsupportable part to those that obey not the Gospel of God. Or yet a little further, the beginning or first part, *ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ κριματός* of the judgment, is *ἀπ' ἑμῶν*, from the godly, (and so it was *ἀπ' ἑμῶν ὅταν ᾖ ἡ κρίσις τοῦ θεοῦ*) intimating that the judgment doth not stay upon them, but onely take rise from them; but the *ἡ μετὰ*, the second sadder part of it, is *ἡ ἀπ' ὁσίων* of them, (or belongs to them) that obey not, &c. So that still in this place also *κρίμα* signifies Gods judgement of this life and another both; not of this life onely, to the excluding of the other, but one part in this life, another in that other; and though the godly had their part in it, yet there was somewhat in the *κρίμα* that the godly never tasted of, but onely the *ἀπειθήναι*, they that disobeyed the Gospel of God, and this is apparent by verse 18. For if the righteous *μὴ ἀπολέσονται*, we read it scarcely be saved. It signifies (by comparing that place with *Prov. 11.31*, where instead of recompenced on the earth, the Greek translation reads *μὴ ἀπολέσονται*) be rendred unto, or recompensed, i. e. punished in the earth, then where shal the ungodly and sinners appear? There are againe the two parts of *κρίμα*, one *ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων* *καὶ* *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ θεοῦ*, Gods retribution to sin here, wherein the godly have their part, and the other his rendring to the wicked hereafter, and so neither of them the punishment of the Magistrate in this life, as Mr. *Bridge*. out of *Piscator*, contends to have it, *Rom. 13*. and as it must bee here also, if others speak pertinently, who use it to avoyd that interpretation, which I confesse Mr. *Bridge*. doth not.

They that are unlearned and unstable wrest the Scriptures to their owne destruction, yee therefore beloved seeing ye know these things before, beware lest you also be led away with the error of the wicked, fall from your owne steadfastness. 2 Pet. 3.16, 17.

Of



tis said of him, *יהוה ייחלנו, היקדמונו ייחלנו, היקדמונו ייחלנו, היקדמונו ייחלנו*. Where you have a *zealotick killing* one at the Altar, and the trembling of his ruines, an evidence of his *furia*.

Testimonies of Jewish writers to this purpose, Master Selden hath put together in his book *De jure Natur. & Gent. ad Heb. plac. lib. 4. cap. 4.* and given some hints of explaining some difficulties in the New-Testament from thence. To this belongs that fact of Christ, *loh. 2. 15.* as appears by the Disciples: of whom it is said, *vers. 17.* that upon that occasion they remembered how it was written by the Psalmist, *Psal. 69. 9.* the zeale of thy house, or for thy house, *קדמונו ייחלנו*, hath fed on me, or carried me with a kinde of Fury.

That Christ did not take upon him to be a Magistrate, or a Judge, or a publick person here on earth, is sufficiently acknowledged; as also, that as a private man hee neither did, nor attempted any thing contrary to the Lawes or Customes of the Jewes or Romans: Or if he had, that the Jewes who had a competent measure of animosity against him, would not probably have suffered him to have done it Scot-free. From all which it will follow undoubtedly, that this was done by Christ *jure Zelotarum*, by the power that belonged to the Zealots, for whom only the law allowed this liberty. The same is to be said of that attempt of the Jewes, *John. 8. 31.* *הקדמונו ייחלנו* *אשר ייחלנו* *הקדמונו ייחלנו*. The Jewes therefore carried stones againe that they might stone him; no legall processe having preceded.

The same Master Selden notes of the servant of the high Priest that struck Christ, *Joh. 18. 22.* whose answer is a seeming argument of it, *v. 23.* If I have spoken well, why smitest thou mee? intimating; that if he had said any thing amisse or irreverently of the high Priest, hee should not have questioned his striking him: And yet the truth is, the phrase *קדמונו ייחלנו* *הקדמונו ייחלנו*, beare witness of the evill, seemes an advertisement that if Christ had offended, it would have better become the servant to have accused and witnessed against him, proceeded legally, then thus *jure Zelotarum* to have stricken him. On the same ground was the fact of Ananias, *Acts 23. 2.* though sitting in the *Sanhedrin* when hee appoynted Paul to be smitten, though without any just crime also. The like proceedings the Scribes were; it seemes, afraid of, *Luk. 20. 6.* *the people will*

will stone us: which must have been an act of popular zeale without publick judgement. That Saint Steven, *Acts* 7. 57 was stoned after this manner, is observed by *Hugo Grunus*, and certainly upon good reasons: for although hee were accused of Blasphe-my, c. 6. and false witnesses brought to that purpose, yet after that, there was nothing legally paist against him through all the seventh chapter, beside his Apology for himselfe to the high Priest. In the conclusion of which (no sentence passing against him) it followes that the people *ἀνέστησαν πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ ἐπέσταν ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ ἐλίθισαν αὐτόν*, verſe 54. which *Hesychius* will helpe us to render thus. they were very angry, they were radded with fury or zeale against him, and gnathed their teeth (it seemes that flame of zeale produced the same effect in them that the flames of Hell are said to do *Matth.* 8. 12.) against him, and crying with a loud voice, they stopt their eares, and ran with one accord upon him (all which were evidences of a most violent zeale) and cast him out of the City and stoned him, which out of doubt was not now lawfull for the Jews (all power of capitall punishment being before this taken from them, *Ioh.* 8. 31.) nor before legall condemnation ever lawfull by the common way of proceeding; no nor after condemnation, to be done thus tumultuously by the people: save onely that by the liberty of Zealots it was permitted. As in the Story of *Susannah*, verſ. 60. and 61. the peoples crying with a loud voice, and their *ἀνέστησαν ὅλοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ἐπέσταν ἐπ' αὐτήν, καὶ ἐλίθισαν αὐτήν*, rising up against the two Elders, is by the learned man interpreted to have been in a seditious manner, *per modum seditionis*, and so *ex spiritu zelotypia*, from the spirit of zeale, as Steven & James the Bishops of Jerusalem were afterwards used by them. So *Acts* 14. 19. it befell St Paul (God in his providence permitting him to be thus dealt with, by way of retaliation for his having an hand in stoning Saint Steven, when Barnabas met not with the like adventure) certain Jews that came from Antioch, and Iconium having stoned Paul, &c. by this judgement onely of zeale which we now speak of.

Hither perhaps we may reſerre that of the Jewes, who brought the woman taken in Adultery to Christ, that shee might be stoned; not desiring, as it appeares, that Christ should give Sentence of death on her, by ordinary legall judicature, (for neither was Christ a Judge, nor had the Jewes now power of capitall punishment) but by the liberty of Zealots, which was thought principally to

belong to that case of one taken *in tempore* in the very fact, as appears by the example of *Phineas*. So *Act. 23.* that *ἰσχυρὸν βοῶν* great cry (such as was observed in the story of *Saint Stephen*) was the beginning of the flaming zeale, and verse 10. it followes, that the chiefe Captain or Tribune sent Souldiers to rescue and defend *Paul*, that he might not be taken by that party of Zealots, who vers. 12. had bound themselves under a curle, that they would neither eate nor drinke untill they had slaine *Paul*; who sure could not have done so *impune*, had it not been thus indulged to them, as Zealots. So when *James* and *John* demand of *Christ*, whether they should command fire from heaven to descend on a Village of the Samaritanes, *Luk. 9. 54.* this they did by the liberty of Zealots, for the legality of their action taking their pattern from the example of *Elias*, and presuming of the power to doe it because *Elias* had. (In reference to both which wee read of *πνεῦμα καὶ δύναμις ἑλίου*, *Luk. 1. 17.* the spirit and power of *Elias*; that spirit by which he was incited to that act of zeale, and that power by which he could call for fire from Heaven; whereupon it is *Procopius* his expression of *Elias* that he was *ἐν πυρὶ ἁγίῳ καὶ θεῷ*, accended with divine zeale, or set on fire by it.) Now when *Christ* reprehendeth those Disciples, telling them they knew not, *i. e.* considered not, what spirit they were of, he advertiseth them that this practice of Zealots is not agreeable to the spirit of the Gospell, nor generally to the temper which he came to plant among Christians.

And having now among the Apostles of *Christ* themselves found some foot-steps of the Jewish zeale, 'twill not be amisse to interpose a conjecture, that from the same originall sprung that bloody fact of *Peter* cutting off *Malchus* his eare, *Matth. 26. 51.* For that this was not lawfull for him to doe, or justifiable by the ordinary rule, may be guest by *Christ*s answer of reproof and vouching the Law, (All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword) and yet that it was not a fact very enormous among the Jewes, or being compared with their avow'd practises (though clearly forbidden by the Gospell) *Origen* and *Theophilact* seem to intimate. *Origen* on *Matth. 26.* *Unus eorum qui erant cum Jesu nondum manifestè concipiens apud se Evangelicam patientiam illam traditam sibi à Christo, nec pacem quam dedit Discipulis suis, sed secundum potestatem datam Iudeis per legem de inimicis, extendens manum accepit gladium, &c.* One of them that were with *Jesus* having not yet any

any full cleare conception of the Evangelicall patience delivered them by Christ, nor of that peace which he gave to his Disciples; but according to the power given the Jewes by the law of enemies took out his sword, &c. *Theophylact* yet more clearly in *Mat. 26*.

μη ελθοντες επι Πέτρον, αλλ' ος υμεις θεωρετε τον ζηλον του Πέτρου, οτι ουκ εστιν εναντιον του κυριου, αλλα εναντιον του λαου. Let us not finde fault with *Peter*; for what hee did, hee did out of zeale, not for himselfe, but for his Master: but the Lord reducing him to the Gospel-discipline, teaches him not to use the sword, though thereby a man should seeme to defend or vindicate God himselfe. And in another place in *Luke* Ζηλον με εμενεν ο υμων, οτι ουκ εστιν εναντιον του κυριου, the Disciples are mov'd with zeale and draw swords. And in a third place in *Mark*, Αποκριθεις ο Πέτρος, ουκ εδωκεν αλφειον, intimating, that *Peter* himselfe counted this fact of his a piece of zeale, for which he might be commended.

Thus much was not amisse to produce in behalfe of this conjecture, that what *Peter* did in defence of Christ, hee did as a Zealot; and yet to see Christ is so farre from approving it, that it incurreth the same reprehension, which *James* and *Iohn* before had met with; nay somewhat a severer, that all might discern, how distant the spirit of Zealots was, from that other of Disciples, the Judaicall fervour from the meeknesse of the Gospell. Though the Apostles themselves had not yet perfectly learnt this truth at Christs death, nor untill the Holy Ghost came to teach them all things, and to bring to their remembrance whatsoever he had in person being present said unto them.

A plaine mention of these Zealots we finde *Acts 21. 20.* where of some of the Jewes tis said, they are all ζηλοται του νομου. Zealots of the Law, that were like to be very hot, if they saw any thing done to the prejudice of the law; of whom therefore *Saint Paul* is advised to beware. So of *Paul* himselfe before his conversion, *Acts 22. 3.* tis said hee was ζηλωτης του νομου, a zealot of Gods, or in Gods cause, and presently it follows ιδιου εμε διωκεν εως θανατου, I persecuted to death, &c. for so the Zealots were wont to do. So *Acts 17. 5.* ζηλωται του νομου, the Zealots of the Jewes, or the Jewes inflamed with zeale (as the old Translation reads, *Zealotes*, better then the new, *invidia commoti*) of whom tis

added *ἐκείνους ἰσχυροὺς τοὺς ἄνδρας* tooke unto themselves certaine lewd fellowes of the baser sort, and made a tumult, and set all the people in an uproare. Of which kinde Master Selden has observed, that *Simon* was one, *Luke 6. 15. Acts 1. 13.* called by Saint *Luke* *Σίμων ὁ Ζηλωτής*, *Simon* the Zealot; but by the other Evangelists Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Mark*, *Κανανίτης*, or (as *Schindler* and other learned men are bold to mend it) *Κανιτης*, which we render the Cananite; but 'tis apparent the word is to be fetcht from the Hebrew *קנא* *Canna*, which signifies Zealot, not from the name of the place: and so is all one with the Greek *Ζηλωτής*, as perfectly the same as *Πέτρος* and *Cephus*, *αἰψάς* and *Tabitha*, and many the like. And thus farre by Scripture light we have past in this disquisition.

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Now what tumults and riots have beene wrought by the rude multitude among the Jewes (or those at least who had no lawfull power in their hand) under the pretence of the privilege of Zealots, no man can be ignorant, who is not wholly unacquainted with *Josephus* story. For in his relation there is nothing more ordinary, then to finde all things disturbed by them, the Temple or holy place defiled *μεταρραίνοντες τὸν ναὸν*, by their prophane feet to the reproach of God: chiefe Priests removed and others placed in their roomes without all respect of bloud, elected by them either according as they pleased; or else by lot, (as it was in the election of one *Phannias* the son of *Samuel* to the high Priest-hood) a man (saith *Josephus*, who *ἐκείνῳ ἀνέστη ἀρχιερεὺς, ὃν οὐδὲν ἀνέμεινον οὐδὲν οὐκ ἦν ἀρετῆς ἢ ἀξιοῦς*, was not onely unworthy to be high Priest; but that did not so much as know what the high Priest-hood was, such was his rusticity.

Many passages we finde scattered in this Author, in his bookes of the Captivity, and large stories of the seditions and uprores and Massacres by two sorts of men among the Jewes; the one called *Σιχάριοι*, Swordmen or Cutters, (of whom Saint *Luke* makes mention, *Acts 21. 38.* wee render them *Murderers*; and it seemes foure thousand of them got together in a company) the second *Ζηλωταί*, Zealots; of whom he makes relations, especially *Lib. 4. c. 11.* where he saith of them, that they killed many of the chiefe men of the nation, and still when they did so, boasted and

and bragg'd of themselves *οἱ βλασηται καὶ σωτηριαι τοῦ πᾶντος λαοῦ*, that they were become the benefactors and preservers or saviours of the City. And by the timidity and baseness of the people concurring with their insolence, advanced so farre *ὡς ἐπὶ αὐτῶν* *καὶ τῶν προσηγοριῶν αὐτῶν*, that they took to themselves the election and constitution of the high Priests. *αὐτοὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐκτελεστούντες ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς*. *ὡς ἐπὶ Ἀρχιερεῶν ἀποδίδου. τῶν προσηγοριῶν αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτῶν*, *ὡς ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς* *καὶ αὐτῶν*, and contemning the rules of birth by which the high Priests were to succede, they constituted ignoble obscure men in those places, that by that meanes they might have some abettors and partners of their villanies: and c. 12. hee saith the name of Zealots was of their owne imposing, *ὡς ἐπὶ ἀρχιερεῶν ἀποδίδου. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς*, as if all that they did (Murthers, Sacrileges, Prophanations, before mentioned) were by them done in good intentions, and not, as indeed they were, in æmulation, and even to the out-stripping and exceeding the worst actions that had beene recorded. Thus far *Josephus*.

That these Zealots were a fourth Sect of the Jewes, (added to Sadduces, Pharisees, Essens,) having its originall from *Judas Gaulonita* and *Sadduchus*; is the affirmation of *Bonaventura Cornelius Borsramus*, in the end of his Book *De polit. Jud.* A Sect, saith he, *Judais ipsis omnibus perniciosissima, ut qua Judeorum omnium excidunt totiusq; reip. Judaica prostrationem non modo accelerarit, sed & eam tam miseram & calamitosam effecerit*: A Sect most sadly pernicious to the Jewes themselves: the destruction of all whom, and the prostration of their whole Common-wealth; it did not onely halten and præcipitate; but made it so miserable and calamitous when it came. And to the same purpose, saith *Grotius Annos. in Ait. 7. 57. Isterum hominum quos Josephus vocat, crescens in dies audacia, tandem & iram excitavit Romanorum, & Urbi temploq; exitium attulit.* The boldnesse of those Zelots daily increasing, at length stirr'd up the anger of the Romans, and brought destruction both on the City and the Temple.

Having proceeded thus farre by way of narration, it may chance to bee worth the paines to present unto the Reader a conjecture upon the twelfth verse of the fourth Chapter of the 1 Epistle of Saint

Saint Peter, *καὶ ἐν ἑσθλῇ καὶ ἐν ὀργῇ πυρρῇ*. The vulgar Latine renders it by words utterly unintelligible: *nolite peregrinari in fervore: Beza, ne tanquam peregrini exploratione illā per ignem percellimini*: as if *ἐν ἑσθλῇ* signified a strangers being stricken or amazed: and *πυρρῇ*, tryall by fire: which whatsoever it may in some other place, it cannot doe here: because here is added *καὶ ἐν ὀργῇ* which is befallen for your tryall, which word would be superfluous, if *πυρρῇ* noted tryall by fire. The more simple and cleare rendring will be to set the words so, that *πυρρῇ* may signifie a combustion, or fire, or burning (so both the Vulgar and Beza, *Revel. 8. 9. render καὶ τὸ πυρρὸν fumum incendii*, and the smoak of her burning) and *ἐν ἑσθλῇ* may denote these three things, 1 To wonder (So the Greek Scholiast. *ἐν ἑσθλῇ, θαυμάσιον*) 2 To be affrighted: (so *Tertullian, ne expavescite*) 3 So as it may bee all one with *ἐν ὀργῇ*, to bee stricken as with an accident wherewithall we are unacquainted. These three senses each, as all of them, may be allowed their places here. Now the conjecture is, that by the *πυρρῇ*, the combustion or burning, &c. should be meant, that notable combustion of the Zealots before mentioned, (for indeed the words are of some affinity, the one comming from *πῦρ*, fire, the other from *ζῆλος*, growing fervently hot or burning.) The grounds of the conjecture are these, 1 Because that last farall day, the destruction of Jerusalem is spoken of in that very Chapter, ver. 7. as that which for some time had been at hand: for I conceive I can make it plaine by comparing of places of the new Test, that *τὸ τέλος πάντων* the end of all things is (not the finall period of the world, but) that destruction of Jerusalem or the Jewish Common-wealth, and of that it is said, *ἐσθλῇ*, it is, or hath for some time been at hand, it was not yet come: but of this *πυρρῇ* or combustion, that it was then, *πρὸς*, already come; which is direclly agreeable to the observation of *Josephus*, and others conversant in the Jewish, who affirme that that raving and rioting of (and sad civill combustion wrought by) the Zealots, was antecedent & precursor to the finall destruction of the Jewes by *Titus*. 2 'Tis affirmed of this *πυρρῇ* that it was *πρὸς ἐν ὑμῖν*, i. e. among you, in your Land, in the midst of you, (as that phrase frequently signifies in the new Test.) by which is marked out some remarkable thing, which was fallen out among the Jewes, as that time when *Peter* wrote,

to which time that the raving of the Zealots endured, is apparent by mention of them, *Acts 21.20. Acts 22.3.* and that by their stirres these Christian Jewes of the *diacnesis* or the dispersion to whom he writes, had been first scattered abroad, may be conjectured by *Act. 8. 1.* This may suffice for a conjecture, which whether it stand or fall, will not be much concernment to the businesse which occasioned this *supra*.

To conclude this historicall uneven discourse, I shall onely annex these few animadversions by way of corollary.

1. That this law, or power, or custome, or liberty of Zealots, was never of force but among the Jewes.

2. That the originall and ground of it among them is to be fetcht from hence: that among that people, God immediately presided, and reserved many things to be manag'd, and ruled by his peculiar and extraordinary incitation and impulsion, not by any rule of standing publick law; that so the Common-wealth might be truly capable of that title which *Josephus* bestowed on it, none of the kindes of humane Governments, but *divina* the government of God.

3. That it followes not from hence, that all things which were by the Jewes themselves done under pretence of this right, and passed unpunished, were therefore well done; but onely those which were undertaken by men truly incited by God, (such as *Phineez* and *Elias*) for that priviledge is not therefore stil'd *zeli privati*, of private zeale, because private men by their owne incitation (*id est* *inordinati*, as that is opposed to Gods) did what they did; but because they did it without legall proceffe, or publick judicature. And though I should be so scepticall, as not to dare peremptorily to affirme, that nothing was well done or justifiable in that kinde, but what they did who were truly and immediately incited to it by God: yet should I not be so cowardly as to doubt, but that all those Jewes were so bound to observe those examples of *Phineez* and *Elias*, that if they were not immediately incited by God, yet they should not dare to exceed the limits of those patternes commended by God, either in respect of the manner of doing, or matter of the action. In one of which you shall finde all the examples mentioned in the New Testament, except that of *Christ*, to have miscarried. And therefore I hope no

man will bee so unjust to the charitable designe of this Paper, so treacherous to his Readers, so unkinde to his owne Soule; as to borrow from these premises new hints of arguments to susteine a desperate cause by his pretence of zeale: for that would be to extract Roseacre out of Treacle, poyson for that which was designed for antidote. And hee must withall resolve, that if the practice of Christ first mentioned, be his president, he must also prescribe to Christs power; or if any of the other New Testament examples, he must be content to fall under their condemnation, for not one of them I ever yet heard of, was excused by any.

4. That this Sect of Zealots when they thus got together into a body was by the Jews themselves (among whom the priviledge of Zealots was yet in force) taken for the most unlawfull, yea pernicious and fatal, most eminently destructive to the Commonwealth (as appeares by *Josephus* and *Jeriram*) and that those things which they did under pretence of law and colour of zeale, were violations of Law and meere Sacrilege.

5. That all use of this liberty. all imitation of that Jewish priviledge of Zealots in the Old Testament, is clearly interdicted all Christians; First, because the written word is the onely Oracle wherein God constantly reveales himselfe to Christians now under the New Testament, neither are any other incitations to be expected from God, but what in the Gospel or new Test. the *spiritus sanctus*, the administration of the Spirit (as preaching the Gospel is call'd) doth yeeld or afford us, what is more then this, yea though it come to us from the Pulpit, favours of enthusiastmes and seducing spirits; Secondly, because Christ hath both by his doctrine and example commended to his Disciples all manner of meeknesse (and Saint *Peter* the meek and quiet spirit, as most precious in Gods sight under the Gospel; and this a grace most directly contrary to that spirit of Zealots) yea and hath forbidden all private revenge of injuries (done not onely to our selves, but God) referring all to the Magistrate (whom Saint *Paul* calls *Θεὸς ὁ κατασκευάζων ἡμᾶς ἐν ἑαυτῷ*, *Rom.* 13. 4. the Minister of God to execute wrath; or an executioner for wrath) and therefore himselfe medled not with the woman taken in Adultery; Thirdly, because he interdicted *James* and *John* the use of this power, adding
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a reprehension and words emphaticall to this purpose, hee turned and rebuked them, saying, *you know not what spirit you are of*; intimating, the Christian spirit to bee very distant from that of the Zealots among the Jewes.

I shall adde no more, but my prayer, that as many as have zeale, may have it according to knowledge, and that knowledge according to the directions of the Gospel.

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Of taking up the Crosse.

MAny places of the New Testament there are that require this duty of a Christian, (of which I thinke I may truly say, that 'tis a duty never so much as in kinde required before by God in the Old Testament, nor by the Lawes of Nature, or Canons of any other Religion, and so a peculiar Christian duty) the chiefe places are these, *Matth.* 16. 24. If any man will come after me, let him deny himselfe and take up his Crosse, &c. and in the same words in the parallel places *Mark.* 8. 34. and *Luke* 9. 23. So againe, to him who desired to be put in a course by Christ to inherit eternall life, *Mark.* 10. 21. in the close, Come, take up the Crosse, and follow me. In all these places 'tis a duty of plaine command; yet somewhat farther, *Matth.* 10. 38. He that taketh not his Crosse and followeth not after mee, is not worthy of me; and in *Luke* 14. 27. the words are most punctuall, and of unlimited extent, from whence 'twill bee hard for any man to obtain any dispensation, or excuse, *quis i hoc uult* — whosoever doth not beare his Crosse and come after me, cannot be my Disciple. No man will be exempted from the *onus* — and no Christian it seems can be without it; for that is the meaning of [my Disciple,] not onely those peculiar twelve of his, and their Successours in the Ministry, for that Relation belongs to them considered under another notion as Apostles sent out after by Christ, answerable to the *discipuli* among the Jewes under the Temple, but the Disciples are all true followers of Christ, all sincere Christians, and so the Doctrine is most plaine, that whosoever doth not beare (which as from those other former places appears, implies a taking up) the Crosse of Christ, cannot be a true Christian.

Now the *agendum*, taking up the Crosse will be easily explain'd whats it's full importance extends to, the voluntary embracing of

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shame, contumely, (for the Crosse was a contumelious death. *Heb.* 12. 2.) and consequently all other losse of goods, liberty, &c. and beyond that, paine of body and death it selfe : which are said, to be taken up, not when we bring them unnecessarily upon our own shoulders, (for that is to pull the Crosse upon us) but when by the providence of God they are laid, or permitted to lye in our way to Christ, or Christian obedience, so that we cannot serve Christ perfectly, but it must become detriment or damage to us, then voluntarily to undergoe that detriment, what ever it is, is to take up the Crosse; and patiently and cheerefully to beare it, is *βασίλειον*, to carry or beare the Crosse of Christ, which is the duty, without which a man cannot be a Christian.

There is now one thing to be a little more punctually considered, the strict and neare dependance and connexion betwixt Christianity and the Crosse; and that from the pleasure and providence of God, and dispensation of things under the Gospell, so ordering it generally that we should not serve the Lord our God of *that that cost us nothing*, but that true Christian piety should bring endurances and sufferings upon us. This very thing may seem to be it (and to that the context inclines it) which *Wisd.* 2. 22. is called *the mysterie of Godlinesse*, viz. Gods Counsell of bringing pious men, or Christians by sufferings to glory (quite contrary to the opinion of the *Atheisticall* world, ver. 20, 21.) and you will the rather acknowledge this, if you compare with it, *Col.* 1. where *ἀποκαλύπτει, the filling up (by way of correspondence and antitype) in our flesh the remainders or reliques of Christs sufferings*, ver. 24; seemes to be called the *Mystery which had been hid*, &c. 26. Thus it is plaine in Christ our elder Brother; the discharge of the Office he had undertaken, brought him to the Crosse, and that Crosse was the onely way to his consecration to the Office of high Priest, to which at his resurrection he was inaugurate; *vid. Heb.* 2. 10. it became him, &c. i. e. God *τοῦτο ἵνα ἡμεῖς ἁγιασθῶμεν* (not in bringing, but) bringing, (or being about that most gracious and mighty designe of bringing many sons unto glory, *ἵνα ἡμεῖς τοῖς σὺν ἡμῖν υἱοὺς ἁγιασθῶμεν* by sufferings to consecrate or inaugurate, (for *τοῦτο* critically signifies, being the word solemnly used by the Septuagint to signifie the legall consecration of the Priests under the Law) the Captaine of our salvation, that is Christ, who *τοῦτο* being so consecrated, became the Author of eternall salvation, &c. *Heb.* 5. 6. From hence, without more places it would follow, that we Christians

stians are to expect our *τιμωσις* (whether consecration to our *βασιλευς υπερταυρα* our dignity of being Kings and Priests, *i. e.* Christians here; or consummation and crowning hereafter, as *τιμωσις* also signifies (*τιμωσις εθελου*, *Nyss.*) by the same method and meanes that our Captaine had his, which is *δια πεινιματος* by sufferings: which course of divine Oeconomy is so generall and without exception, (*2 Tim.* 3. 12. yea, and all that will be godly in this world, *μαχαριστηται*, shall be persecuted) that *Heb.* 12. 6, 7, 8. the words are very remarkable, Whom God loveth, he chastneth, and scourgeth every Son whom he receiveth, if you endure chastning, God dealeth with you as with Sons, for *what sonne* is he whom the father chastneth not? but if you be without chastisement whereof *all* are partakers, then are you bastards, and not sonnes. Words of a large unlimited latitude, which I cannot discern any way in the world to soften, so as they may be supportable to him, that (as the Psalmist saith) hath no changes, hath enjoyed an age of an uninterrupted continued prosperity, without ever having the Crosse on his shoulders. I confesse I would faine find out some *μαλακτικη* or mollifying distinction, as that of the *animus martyris*, the preparation to suffer, though God never send occasion, that that might suffice for his qualification, who hath no other, but sure that will not be able to allay or take off the force of [and chastneth every sonne, &c.] and if ye be without, not only if you be not prepared to beare, but if you be without chastisement, then are you Bastards, &c. which when it is set downe as an aphorisme of divine observation under the Kingdome of Christ, an Axiome of Gods Gospel-providence, there will be no safety in disputing or labouring to avoyd the literall importance of it. To that purpose I conceive those words tend, *Rom.* 8. 28, where to prove the conclusion premised, ver 28. that all things tend to the good of them that love God, (and what those *all things* are, is specified, ver. 35. tribulation, distresse, persecution, famine, nakednesse, danger, sword,) the Apottle thus argues: For whom he hath fore-knownne, *i. e.* fore-appointed, the lovers of God premised, those he hath also predestin'd to be conformable to the image of his Sonne, *i. e.* in suffering; and whom he hath predestined, those he hath also called; to wit, to that conformity to which he hath predestined them, (as *1 Pet.* 2. 21. the phrase is used, *εις ουτο εδ εκληθην*, for to this yee were called, *i. e.* to this suffering as Christ did, and c. 3. 9. yee are thereunto called, that you should inherit

inherit *inheritor*, blessing (not as we render it a blessing) *i. e.* that ye should blesse enemies as Christ did, and so inherit that exemplary grace of his, which as a grace may as properly be said to be inherited; thus the context seemes to inforce it [not rendring evill for evill, but blessing, knowing that you are thereunto called, that you should inherit blessing, &c. *i. e.* possesse that grace after him, so eminently discernable in him.] and whom he hath thus called, hee justified and glorified. Where the first and second proposition must bee acknowledged universall, that all whom he hath foreknowne, all lovers of God, are thus predestined, and all that are predestined called (by their very title or profession of Christians) to this conformity with Christ in sufferings. Adde to these 1 *Pet.* 4. 13. if the righteous hardly be saved; which must be understood by the sence of the Hebrew Phrasis, *Prov.* 11. 30. rendred by the LXXII. *Εἰ ἀσκήσεις πάλιν οὐδὲν*, and here retained by Saint *Peter*, and then the sence will be [and if the righteous be recompenced, *i. e.* by an *Hebraism*, punished in the earth, &c. or more literally to the Greek, If he escape hardly or with difficulty.] (as 1 *Cor.* 3. 15. *ὁποῦδ' ὅτι ἡνὶ θάνατον ἔσται*, hee shall bee mulcted or suffer losse, but shall escape) which Interpretation the former verse in Saint *Peter* confirms in *ἡμεῖς τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς κρίσεως*] for it is the season of that act of divine dispensation, *viz.* of judgements beginning from the house of God, *i. e.* of Gods inflicting judgements of this life (which are the beginning or first part (*τὸ πρῶτον* as it followes) of Gods retribution for sinne) on the godly] which signifies that the state of the Gospel, is that season, though the Law was not: and to the same purpose, the verse following also, *οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς κρίσεως*, &c. They that suffer according to the will of God. It seemes by all put together, and the *μὴν οὐσίμην* [scarcely saved] is spoken of suffering, and the will or providence of God is that that disposeth it so, and and so the conclusion from thence is cleare, and universal. The righteous shall be punished in the earth. 'Tis true indeed, under the Old Testament we finde not any such æconomy, but promises of a long and happy life, in a temporall *Canaan* to the obedient servants of God (though sometimes God was pleased to interpose some variety in this kinde, many troubles of the righteous in *Dauids* time) but under the Gospel 'tis quite contrary, even those duties which are promised a reward on this earth, as mercifulnesse or almes-giving, are yet to expect the payment of this reward with some

some mixture (like *Homers* good eūp poured out alwayes with a dash of the bad) the hundred-fold which such men are promised to receive *in this time*, this first inferiour harvest of retributions, though they be secular blessings, houles and lands, &c. yet must they be with persecutions, *Mark* 10. 30. Which particular, though neither *S. Matthew*, nor *S. Luke* records, yet *S. Peter* (who had most reason punctually to observe those words of Christ, being an answer directed to a question of his proposing, as all the three Evangelists acknowledge) remembred them, and so we finde them in *S. Marks* Gospell, which is relolved to have been dictated by *Saint Peter*. And therefore as 'tis *Origens Allegory*, that by the *Baptisme of Fire* with which Christ should baptize, are meant Persecutions; So *St. Augustine* observes, that till after the comming of the holy Ghost, (to which that *Baptisme* is annex) no man was a Martyr for Christ; but after they came in shoales, and therefore perhaps hee is called the *Comforter*, as hee that doth not deliver from the Crosse, but comforts under it.

Having thus farre in the passage briefly poynted at this piece of Gospell-Providence; 'twill not be amisse as briefly to guesse at the ends of this divine Oeconomy. 1. To administer occasion of the practice and exercise of many Christian duties, and graces, as of patience, meeknesse, waiting on Christ, of loving our enemies, of the *non-resisting* evill, we render it, or not using any violence against him that molests us, (rendring [τῷ ἀντιπαρ] of the Person, &c.) which if wee have in seed or habit, 'tis certainly a great felicity to us, to meet with opportunities to actuate them, both in respect of the evidencing the sincerity of them to God, to our brethren, to our owne soules; and in respect of that reward, or Crowne promised, the great degree of glory, *Matth.* 5. 12. that is proportioned to the *works*, *Pf.* 62. 13. 2 *Cor.* 5. 10. according to the nature and number of the Acts, or operations of those gifts or graces, as on the other side, a greater portion of the Torments of hell is allotted to the more multiplyed acts of wilfull sinne. 2. To help to mortifie any remainders of sinne in us, which by continued prosperity are ready and apt to take root, and flourish in us. 3. To assimilate, or make us like to Christ, to conforme us to the Image of his sonne, *Rom.* 8. 29. that is the Image of the crucified Saviour, as was said, that hee might bee the first borne of many brethren,

that is, might have a Church or family, a multitude of brethren like himself, all sufferers as he was. 4. That our sins being punished here, there might remaine no arreare to bee paid in another world; having had all our Purgatory here, there might remaine nothing but heaven hereafter; which the Apostle expresseth, 1 Cor. 11. 32. We are chastned of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world: to which Father Abraham refers Luk. 16. 25. Lazarus received his evill things in this life time, and now he is comforted.

These and such like being the designs of this a 7 of Gods Gospell-Providence; It is next observable what a character or affliction here, that it is the happiell, blessedest estate, the most comfortable joyfull condition that a Christian can meet with. This riddle and paradox, or prodigy to carnall reason, is become the most ordinary beaten acknowledged truth in the new Testament. 'Tis the clofe of the beatitudes in that institution of Christians, the Sermon in the Mount, *Matth. 5. 10.* Blessed are they that are persecuted, and v. 11. reviled: and the exhortation in this case *ἡσυχίαν καὶ ὑπομονήν* rejoyce, & be exceeding glad, to *Luke 6. 22.* (which there is some reason to thinke was spoken by Christ at another time) blessed are you when men shall hate you, and separate you, and reproach you, and cast you out, &c. *ἡσυχίαν καὶ οὐρανίαν* rejoyce yee in that day, and leap for joy, &c. Saint Paul had learnt this, *Col. 1. 24.* who now rejoyce in my sufferings, yea, and glory too. *2 Cor. 11. 30. 12. 5. 9.* And the former of thole places will be worth reviewing, *Col. 1. 24.* *I rejoyce in my suffrings for you, καὶ ἀνταναπαρτίζω τὰς πληγὰς ὑμῶν ἵνα ἔσται ἡ χάρις ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν ἡμεῖς καὶ ὑμεῖς, &c.* The word *ἀνταναπαρτίζω* signifies sometimes in the sacred Dialect, *necessaries*, or necessities, sometimes which is *congruous*, *profitable*, *2 Cor. 9. 12.* *ἀνταναπαρτίζοντες τοὺς ἁγίους* the necessities of the Saints, *Ezra 6. 9.* *καὶ ἡ ἀνάγκη* that which they have need of. The word now there used signifies in *Chaldee* (in which that Chapter is written) *necessitas habuit*, *indignus*, but in *Syriacke*, (which is the *New Testament Dialect*) *apud*, *commodum*, *congruens fuit*, *proffit*, saith *Schindler*, which being applied to the word in this place, the importance of the Verse will run thus, I am a *Christian*, so called because a Member, and Servant of Christ. Christ suffered for his Church, yea, and ἵνα παθῇ, he ought so to suffer, *Luke 24. 46.* i. e. it was very *congruous* and profitable, and in respect of Gods decree and the Prophecies *necessarie*, that he should

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65

to suffer. Consequently it is also very *congruous*, yea and decreed by God (& therefore in so doing *I fulfill Gods Word*, v. 25. So as 1 Mac. 2. 55. *ἡρώδης ἔβη, ἵς, doing what he was bid to do*) that I should suffer for you, who are the *body of Christ*. That I now doe, *I make up*, or *fulfil in my flesh*, that which is wanting of the sufferings of Christ, or those necessary sufferings of Christ, & take pleasure, rejoyce in so doing.

To the same purpote Saint James his exhortation is remarkable in the front of his Ep. 1. 2. My Brethren count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations, *ἡμῶν ἀποδοῖ*, all joy, i. e. the most joyous accident possible, and v. 12. Blessed is the man that endureth Temptation, &c. *ἡ ἐκαστος*, 11. *ἰδὲ ἡμεῖς ἀγαπῶμεν τοὺς ἐπειράζοντες*, behold we count them happy, we render it; it signifies more; behold we account them as a kinde of Saints in Heaven, (for so *ἡμεῖς* usually signifies) and Aristotle speaking of some heroicall super-humane excellencies, *ἐν τρωάδῃ* saith he, *ἀνὰ ἡμεῖς ἀγαπῶμεν*) it seemes that of suffering, a most blessed condition. To these adde St. Peter, 1 Ep. 3. 15. but sanctifie the Lord God in your hearts; where the word *ἁγιάζον* is to sanctifie as that is all one with glorifying or hallowing, or praising; a consequent of the generall rule, vers. 14. if yee suffer for righteousness sake, happy are yee; and perfectly opposite to [being afraid of their terrour, and being troubled,] in the end of that verse, and so is an expression of this duty of praying, thanking, blessing God for our sufferings in this life. So againe, 1 Ep. 4. 13. *μὴ ἐν φόβῳ*, vers. 12. be not frighted or stricken, &c. but rejoyce in as much as you are partakers of Christs sufferings, and v. 14. if yee bee reproached for the name of Christ, happy are you, &c. and ver. 16. if any suffer as a Christian (not as a murtherer, a thiefe, an evill doer, a busie-body in other mens matters, vers. 15. no great joy or comfort in any of those sufferings) let him not be ashamed but let him glorifie God on this behalfe, *ἐν ἡμεῖς ἀγαπῶμεν τὴν κρίσιν*, that it is the season for judgement to begin, or of judgements beginning, at the house of God, as hath been explained, 'tis seasonable that the *ἡμεῖς*, the first part of Gods *ἀποδοῖ* retribution to sinne, that which is in this life, should befall the house of God, Christians, and the most obedient of them; and being so, this is matter of rejoycing, and glorifying God. Other places yee will observe easily to the same purpote, as when St. Paul, Gal. 6. 17. speaks of his afflictions (in the high at that time it seems) he expresses it thus *ὁ ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἐν Κυρίῳ ἡμεῖς ἐν κρίσει*

* Solignatium
mentioning
his *Αρσος*,
bonds, Epist.
ad Ephes.
calls them,
αλυσματα
μαρτυριας,
Spiritual Jew-
ells, and adds
his wish,
αλυσματα του
πνευματικου,
God grant
that in, or
by them I may
be consummate,
or crown'd:
And anon,
αλυσματα *εργασιας*
της σωτηριας
αυτου.
I have beeve
vouchsafed, or
thought worthy
to beare these
chaines. And
in his Epistle
ad Magnes.
hee saith,
αλυσματα του
θεου ειναι τα
ουτα, *αλυσματα*
δουλου.
Being thought
worthy of the
divine and pre-
cious name of
God, in or by
these chaines.
whi h I carry
about with me,
(carry about as
ensignes of ho-
nour, matter of
glorying and
rejoycing) I
sing, &c.

αυ βαρυνω. I beare in body the markes of the Lord Jesus.] where the word *αλυσματα* though it signifie brands of infamy, yet are here set, saith Saint Chrysost. for *αρσος*, *trophas*, and markes of triumph, which therefore he is said *βαρυνω*, to carry triumphantly, and not *αλυσω* simply to carry, as acts of contumely; and so 2 Cor. 12.9. *I will glory in my weaknesses*] i. e. afflictions, that the power of God may dwell upon me. So Gal. 14. after he had spoken of some that had circuncised their *Proselytes*, onely that they might not bee persecuted or pursued by the Crosse of Christ *δεν ην το επισημα χριστου δι' αμαρτιαν*, i. e. that they might avoyd persecution from the Jewes, and so glory in their Flock, i. e. brag that they helpe their Disciples to carnall advantages which others have not, to wit, ease and quiet, &c. In defiance and opposition to such he cryes out, and disclaimes all kind of glorying but this one, in the Crosse of Christ, i. e. *Afflictions, &c.* So Phil. 1. 29. *υμιν ιχνησεν* To you it is granted as a grace, and vouchsafement of Gods speciall favour, to suffer for Christ. Let these for the present suffice, to soften this carnall paradox.

But now having proceeded thus farre in a matter, to him that is conversant in the new Testament, so obvious and vulgar, that I shall presume it matter of wonder to him, what should move me to so superfluous and unnecessary an undertaking; I must now take confidence to proceed to that which *Arrian* calls the *επισημα* *αποδεικνυσαι τωις υμιν* *αλυσματα*, the applying of *αλυσματα* known and granted principles, to particular persons, or cases, or practices. For therein as that excellent Philosopher observes, consists the ground and beginning of all strife and difficulty, and difference, betwixt men, no man having any considerable Temptation, to keep him from consenting to the truth of a generall proposition sufficiently assert, as long as he appears not concern'd in it, and yet every man almost having some irreconcilable quarrell to it, when his actions are required to be ruled by it; hence is it, that the speculative part of knowledge, is farre easier then the practicall; and as, *Aristotle* saith, the Mathematicks which are the most abstruse Science, are most easie to be learnt by a young man, or a dissolute, of any the most untamed affections, so he have but an ordinary naturall capacity, (and 'tis evident by his *Organon*, that hee supposed children to have learnt Geometry before they came to Logick) whereas of the precepts of Morality, such are utterly uncapable

able *λογισμὸν ὡς μάθημα*: they can recite them by rote, but beleieve not a word of them.

I wish it were now uncharitable to affirme the same, of many that have taken upon them, to bee the best, and most reforming Christians amongst us; that it continued still to be but our jealousie, what is now proved our sense, that some of those who have hitherto been admitted for our strictest Christians, have at length confessed themselves farthest from the merit, and true desert of that title, if the doctrine of the Crosse which hitherto we have laid downe for acknowledged truth, doe not at last prove a fable.

The Apostle *Phil. 3. 18.* tells us even weeping, that there are many walkers. (I think hee meanes by that phrase *οἱ πολλοὶ περιπατοῦντες*, Christian professors) whom judging by their actions, hee cannot chuse but call *ἐχθροὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ χριστοῦ* (of whom it seemes hee had oft admonished them, *ἡμεῖς ἀποκρίσεις εἰς αὐτοὺς, ὡς ἐπὶ ἀντιπαρισταμένων*) enemies of the Crosse of Christ; what those were in the Apostles time will not be pertinent now to examine, I shall onely with a sad heart (not desiring to judge my brother, but if it were possible, to direct him to preiudge, or at least examine himselfe, and so either anticipate and prevent, or else prepare himselfe to approach with confidence Gods judgement, and withall, to helpe undeceive others whom we finde ductile to some moderne sins, much-what upon that dangerous prepossession which the Apostle calls having mens persons in admiration) make these few quare's, and leave every mans owne soule to answer them.

1. Supposing our groundslayd to be true, I demand whether it be the temper of a true Christian, and not rather of an enemy of the Crosse of Christ, instead of rejoycing to repine and murmur under the Crosse, and evidence that by speaking evill of those powers who have laid it on our shoulders

2. To be more refractory after such sufferings (instead of being more meek and more humble) more violent in matters of indifferency (by our owne continued practice acknowledged to bee so in our account, till after such sufferings our judgements or rather our practice altered) and more resolv'd not to yeeld obedience in them, then before we thought ourselves bound to be.

3. To plot and project, and to that purpose to hold correspondence with other men, (whom we conceive already moved with discontents, or our selves have labour'd so to move) to find out the

most

Of taking up the Crosse.

most probable way of delivering us from the Crosse, whatsoever that way be, beside our addresses to God in prayer to remove it, if he see it best for us in all respects.

4. To make use of any meanes to this purpose, which we are not assured is admittred and offered unto us by God, of which we can no way possibly be assured but by the evident goodnesse and justifiablenesse at least lawfulness in all respects of that means which we thus designe to make use of;

5. To move or stirre the quiet and peace of one or more kingdoms (though not principally yet collaterally, or at all) in this contemplation that we shal get the Crosse off from our own shoulders, come to a more prosperous condition, yea though it be but to a more peaceable enjoying of our manner of Religion, then hitherto we have attained to.

6. To venture on, and (though not primarily to designe, if it may be done without it, yet if it may not, then secondarily and consequently) to resolve on the shedding of any one mans blood, which we know would not otherwise bee shed, especially if it proceed further to the waging or but occasioning of a warre, in which (whether offensive or defensive on our parts) it cannot be hoped but a great effusion of Christian and Protestant blood will follow.

7. To attempt or desire the removing of the Land-marks, the altering of the Government of Church and State, the working of any considerable change in either (which we can have no revelation to assure us may not prove author of some inconvenience which we foresee not) the better to secure our selves or others that the Crosse shall not returne to our shoulders againe.

8. To thinke it just and reasonable (and our selves injur'd if it be not so) that we should have the greater portion of secular dignities for the future in regard of some former sufferings of ours; which if it should befall us, would be parallel to that curse, *Mat. 6. mercedem habent*, they have their reward, in this life.

9. To endeavour to lay this Crosse on other mens shoulders of which we have freed our owne, whether those other men be such as were not guilty of our former sufferings, but perhaps pitied and mourned, and prayed for us, (for that were rewarding good with evil) or whether they be our greatest persecuters (for that will be rendering evil for evil) most perfectly contrary to Christs Doctrine, *Math. 6. 44. Rom. 12. 17. 19, 20, 21.*

Secondly,

Secondly, supposing things to be as now they are in this Kingdome, my question is, First, whether we have no great reason to believe, that (the doctrine of the Crosse being not so well laid to heart by those who three yeares since conceived themselves the principall Schollers in that Schoole) God is now pleased to call another sort of men into that forme, to try whether they will prove better proficients then their Predecessors have done ; Secondly, whether those on whom that lot is now fallne , bee not most eminently bound to glorifie God in this behalfe, 1 *Pet.* 4. 16. Thirdly, whether by the experience of other mens failings in this kind, they have not reason to be earnest in prayer to God, and diligent in using and improving all Gods directions for the due Christian discharging of so glorious, and withall, so difficult a taske, that when they are proved to the utmost, are brought forth to resist to blood, they may be found faithfull. Fourthly, whether the obtaining of this grace from God be not more highly conducibile to every mans own individuall interests, then the removing of the Crosse from us, though wrought most directly and by means administred undoubtedly by God himselfe. Fifthly , whether it can become a Christian to make use of any means which he is not on sure grounds satisfied to be purely and perfectly lawfull (i. e. agreeable first to the Gospel-rule of obedience to Christ in every particular, and second to the lawfull commands of our undoubted Superiours not contradicted by any Law or power higher then they) to get now either totally or in part from this Crosse, i. e. from any pressure which in the discharge of a good conscience God shall permit to fall on any of us.

When every man in this broken State, and Church , most sadly militant, of what perswasions soever hee be, hath laid the severall parts of these two *Quere's* to his heart, and examined himself by them (which truly I should not have layd thus plainly before him, had I had any other thought or aime, but this one of making it impossible for him to be blinde in judging himselfe) I shall hope hee will pardon his Monitor, and save this paper the labour of proceeding further to beare witness against him at any other tribunal then this of his owne conscience.

The Lord prosper this short discourse to the end to which it is designed.



A Vindication of Christs reprehending Saint Peter, from the Exceptions of Ma- ster MARSHALL.

*Vid. supra
pag: 9.*



Here is nothing more unjust and uningenuous, then M. Marshall's dealing about Christs reprehension of Saint Peters using the Sword: whilst hee labours to answer the Objection, which from thence is brought against the use of Armes, though but defensive, taken up against a lawfull Magistrate. The Argument is briefly this: Saint Peter, in defence of his Master (Christ himselfe) drew his Sword, and cut off the eare of Malchus, one of the High Priests Servants, sent by commission from their Masters, to apprehend Jesus: and our Saviour commands him to put up his sword; adding by way of reason, *for they that take the Sword (take it not when 'tis put into their hands by God or the supreme Magistrate, or any Delegate of his, who hath the power of the Sword, but take it, usurp it, without legall authority or concession, giving or permitting it to them) shall perish by the Sword.* Which reason or backing of Christs reprehension is brought to inferre, that 'tis a sinne for any to use the Sword against the supreme Magistrate, though for defence of Christ or Christian Religion. To this Master Marshalls answer is three-fold; 1. *That the speech of Christ to Peter, is not a reproofe of the sword taken for a just defence; but of the sword taken for unjust oppression, and a comfort to those who are oppressed with it.* For Origen, Theophylact, Titus, Euthymius, interpret the meaning to be, that Christ doth not rebuke Peter for using defensive Armes; but so let Peter know that he need not snatch Gods worke out of his hands: for God would in time punish those with the sword, that came thus with the sword against him. And that these words are a prophetic of the punishment which the Roman sword should exact of the bloody Jewish

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nation, according with the like expression, Revel. 13. 10. *Hee that kills with the sword, must be killed with the sword: here is the patience and faith of the Saints, i.e. this may comfort the Saints in their persecutions that God will take vengeance for them:* and for all this the Margine advises the Reader to consult *Grotius de jure belli*, l. 1. c. 3. n. 3. This is the place at length in Master *Marshall* his Letter to a friend, which (being of some concernment and importance to the present controverſie of the times, though not to confirme his cause by this exposition, yet to dispatch one of his ſpeciall adverſaries out of the way) I ſhall now beg leave to examine; and of altogether, obſerve theſe foure things; Firſt, that the ancient Writers, vouched by him, are not vouched from his owne reading, but taken upon truſt from *Grotius*, as alſo the obſervation of the Roman Sword, and the place in the *Revelations*; Secondly, that the interpretation, aſſerted by him out of them, is not aſſerted by them; Thirdly, that it is not aſſerted by *Grotius*; Fourthly, that *Grotius* to whom he owes all this ſeeming aid to his cause, is the moſt declared enemy, of this whole cauſe of his, in behalfe of deſenſive reſiſtance of the Magiſtrate, that he could poſſibly have ſalne on; and upon occaſion of theſe words of Chriſt to *Peter* hath ſaid as much againſt it. If theſe foure things be made good; I cannot gueſſe what could be further added to prove the injuſtice and uningenuouſneſſe, I ſhall adde the untowardneſſe and unluckineſſe of this anſwer. And for the particulars, I ſhall but require a Reader with eyes in his head, and ſuppoſe him not poſſelt with a beliefe of an abſolute infallibility in M. *Marshall*, and then I ſhall be confident to demonſtrate them.

For the firſt, the prooſe will be ſhort, if you pleaſe but to looke on *Grotius* in the place directed to in his Annotations on the Goſpells, pag. 465. almoſt *verbatim* tranſcribing what he had before published *de jure belli*; you ſhall in each finde every of the particulars mentioned: but for this I would not charge Maſter *Marshall*. I wiſh he would alwayes gleane out of ſo good Writers. The onely fault here is, that having borrowed ſo much from him and digeſted it into nourishment of his owne error, hee did not alſo take the paines to borrow what was preſent to be had, a moſt ſoveraigne antidote for his owne poiſon, meanes of rectifying his miſtake: but like the man in *Gellius*, that had eate ſo much poiſon, and therefore with ſo invenom'd his bloud, that hee could poiſon the Flea that came

came to bite him: so, he the *Groin* that came to prick and wound; or, if he had pleased, to convert, to bring him to repentance.

For the second, I shall not expect to evince it against so great an authorie of Master Marshall, without transcribing the very words of those writers in this matter. *Origen* upon the place in *Matth. 26. tr. 35. p. 118.* explains the whole period in these words, (I shall omit no word that is pertinent to the matter in hand.) *Unus eorum qui erant cum Jesu, nondum manifestè concipiens apud se Evangelicam patientiam illam traditam sibi à Christo, nec pacem quam dedit discipulis suis, sed secundum potestatem datam Judæis per legem de inimicis, extendens manum accepit gladium, &c.* Peter it seems had not perfectly learned the Doctrine of Christian patience, and the peace which Christ commended to his Disciples, but proceeded according to the Jewish law of dealing with enemies. This concludes *Peters* act contrary to Christian patience and peaceableness, and so makes him capable of Christs reproof, which Mr. Marshall will wholly divert from him, and cast upon the Jews. Then he goes on, *Mox Jesus ad eum, convertit gladium in lorum suum: Est ergo gladii locus aliquis, ex quo non licet accipere eum, qui non vult perire maxime in gladio.* (This clearly of Saint Peter againe, and not the Jewes, that he must not take the sword out of its place, unlesse he will be content to perish by the sword:) *Pacificos enim vult esse Jesus discipulos suos, ut bellicum gladium hunc deponentes, (O that Master Marshall would remember this; and after so fair an admonition, put the military sword out of his mouth also.) alterum ponis: isicium accipiunt gladium, quem docet Scriptura gladium Spiritus. Simile autem mihi videtur quod dicit; Omnes qui accipiunt, &c. i. e. omnes qui non pacifici, sed bell. concitatores sunt, in eo bello peribunt quod concitant, &c. Et puto quod omnes tumultuosi & concitatores bellorum, & conturbantes animas hominum, maxime Ecclesiarum, accipiunt gladium, in quo & ipsi peribunt. Excellent seasonable Doctrine for these times if it might be laid to heart; but no way excusing Saint Peter. Again, Qu. accipiunt gladium, &c. cavere nos convenit, ut ne occasione Militiæ vel vindictæ propriarum injuriarum (remember not for revenge of ones owne injuries) eximamus gladium, aut ab aliquam occasionem, quam omnem abominatur hac Christi doctrina, præcipiens ne impleamus quod scriptum est, Cum his qui odierunt pacem, evan. pacificus. Si ergo cum odientibus pacem debemus esse pacifici, adversus neminem gladio*

What if a man should construe this (not the Militia.

uti debemus. These are the words of *Origen*; out of which; bee that shall inferre that *Origen* conceived the meaning of the Scripture to be; that Christ did not rebuke *Peter* for using defensive Armes against *Malchus*; I shall resolve he hath gotten the Philosophers stone, is Alchymist enough to extract fire out of water; any the most contrary sense out of any words. Not so much as one word here of the Jewes or the Roman sword that should give them their payment: but all of *Peters* Sword, and the miscarriages of that: and so much for *Origen*.

In Math.
p. 162.

Then for *Theophylact*; he is also punctuall enough to this purpose. *Μη ἱκετεύετε τὴν Πίττον, ὅτι ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ ἀποστόλος Πέτρος, ὃν ὁ Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν.* Let us not finde faults with *Peter* (make not too much haste Master Marshall to catch that, till you see the consequents) for he did this not for himselfe, but in zeale for his Master. (herein I shall interpose my conjecture that *Theophylact* might think *Peter* did this, as a Zealot; as *James* and *John* would have destroyed the Village of the Samaritanes, *jure Zelotarum*: so his words also sound on *Luke*, pag. 518. *Ζηλοὶ καὶ ἐκείνῃ τῇ μετὰ τὸν ἀποστόλου Πέτρον:* and then though that were unlawfull for a Christian, a piece of Judaisme out-dated by Christ; yet in *Peter*, as a Jew, not perfectly illuminate or instructed in the Christian Doctrine. (as *Origen* before observ'd) it was not so blameable yet, till after the comming of the Holy Ghost, who was to bring all things to their remembrance which Christ had taught them. And therefore perhaps it is, that, although Saint *Augustine* calls this of *Peter*, *carnalem amorem*; yet *amorem Magistri* still. The same Author upon Saint *Mark* hath these words upon this same occasion. *Ἀποδείκνυται τὸ ὅτι ὁ Πέτρος, ὅς ἐστιν ὁ ἀποστόλος Πέτρος, ὃν ὁ Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν.* counting this zeal, as in a Jew, rather a commendable thing. If all this bee yeilded, yet will it be no justification of the like in a Christian: because now Christ hath reformed that Law, and checkt that *Peter*. And therefore, the same *Theophylact* goes on; that though wee should not aggravate *Peters* fault, nor chide him for it; *ὅτι Κύριος μετανοήσας, ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἐπέστειλεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἐπέστειλεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.* yet Christ reformes him, turns him to the Gospell-discipline, and teaches him not to use the sword, though by so doing hee seeme to defend or vindicate God himselfe. Could any man have spoken more expressly or prophetically against Mr. Marshall his doctrine, then this father doth. (So likewise in other places upon St. *Lukes* Gospell,

Gospel, pag. 518. Ζωὴν αὐτὸν ἐν μυστηρίῳ, &c. Ἰννομιῶντι δὲ ἰδόντι Πέτρον ὡς πικρὸν
 ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ πρῶτον εἶπε ἡμετέριος : he confesses *Peter* was chid for his zeale.
 And on St. *Johns* Gospel, Ἄν' ἡ Κουρία κατατίθει μετ' αὐτοῦ Πέτρον, & ἀποτίθεται, βάλε,
 ὧνι, &c. *The Lord reprehends Peter, and threatening saith. put up, &c.*
 threatening *whom* ? Iure that person, in *Theophylasts* opinion, to
 whom hee said *put up* : and that Iure was *Peter*, not the
Jewes) But to shew you the occasion of Master *Marshall*
 his mistake ; It followes indeed in *Theophylast* on *Matthew*,
 Ἀν' ὅτι οὗτος δὲ ἐν οὗτῳ τῷ Πέτρῳ ἡ μαχαίρα ἀνατίθεται ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λαβόντι τὴν μαχαίραν
 τὸν ἑαυτοῦ. *Insinuat autem, as Oecolampadinus renders it. Christ insinua-*
tes that by the *Romans* sword, the *Jewes* that took the sword a-
 gainst him, shall be destroyed. This acknowledged truth, (that the
Romans should destroy the *Jewes*, the apprehenders and crucifiers
 of *Christ*, i. e. that were guilty of crucifying him,) was, saith he,
 insinuated in those words of *Christ*, wherein, as before we shew-
 ed out of *Theophylasts* words, he reprov'd Saint *Peter*. Now wee
 know that ἀνιμιῶν, or insinuating, or intimating, signifies a secondary
 or allegoricall sense of a Scripture, as it is frequent in that Author.
 Speaking of the cutting off *Malchus* his eare, ἀν' ὅτι οὗτος, saith he, he
insinuates, ἐν παρανομίᾳ τοῦ ἐκείνου, that the *Jewes* did not *heare* and
obey the Scripture, as they should : a meere allegoricall interpreta-
 tion. So when *Christ* bids him *that had no sword, sell his garments*
and buy one, *Luke* 22. 36. πώληται ἀν' ὅτι οὗτος, &c. hee speaks ænigmati-
 cally : and tells them by way of insinuation, what warres and dan-
 gers should betide them. Which insinuated or ænigmaticall sense,
 though it be acknowledged true, will not evacuate that other lite-
 rall. For I hope in Mr. *Marshall* his own judgement, that 'tis law-
 full to use a sword in ones owne defence in time of warre and dan-
 ger, and that that lawfulness is authorized by *Christ* in those
 words : which I shall not doubt to acknowledge with him, if it be
 not against the lawfull Magistrate.

The product then of *Theophylact's* interpretation will be this; that by those words, (*for all they that take the sword, shall perish by the sword*) Christ reprehends and chides *Peter* for drawing his sword, and using it, as he did: and withall insinuates ænigmatically the destruction of the *Jewes* by the *Romans*. Which if it be acknowledged true in both senses, 'twill no way prejudice us, or serve *Master Marshall*, whose cause depends upon rejecting of the former sense, not on asserting the latter: and doth not onely affirme

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that it is a reproofe of the sword taken for unjust oppression, but also that it is not a reproofe of the sword taken for just defence: which is absolutely false in *Theophylact's* opinion, it defending of Christ be just defence, or chiding by reproving: or if teaching not to use the sword, though one seeme to defend God himselfe, be rebuking *Peter* for using defensive Armes for Christ. The short is, though *Theoph.* interpretation bring the Jewes under Christs threatening and reprehension: yet doth it no way free *Peter* from the same; but primarily subjects him to it: the contrary to which is the onely thing would be for Master *Marshall* his purpose. 'Tis true indeed, in his *Scholia* on Saint *John*, he saith, *Christ comforted Peter*, which seems opposite to rebuking: but that was not in those words, *For they that take the sword; &c.* but in those, *the cup; &c.* (*οὐρανὸν πίνασθαι καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον πίνειν, &c.*) which Saint *John* immediately addes, omitting the words of the threatening out of the Law. And so much for *Theophylact* also.

Now that which hath been thus largely set down out of *Theoph.* will sufficiently cleare this whole bulines without proceeding to examine what may be found in *Titus Bostrensis*, or *Euthymius*, to this purpose. The former of these, in his Exposition of Saint *Luke* in the *Bibliotheca patrum Græc*: hath not the least word sounding that way, but rather contrary; interpreting Christs command of buying a sword as a designation onely of the Jewes preparation gainst him, *Kai in πληθυνόντων τοὺς μαθηταίς*, and that they were about to apprehend him: which (as *Theophyl.* did, so) hee calls *ἀντίστασιν μαθητῶν*, the intimation of the sword, and faith, that therefore Christ adds, that the things written of him must be fulfilled. And againe, that if Christ would have had his Disciples use any humane helpe at his apprehension, a hundred swords would not have been sufficient, *ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν, ἢ αὐτὸς πέντε, ἢ ἑκατὸν*, and if he would not, even these two would be too many. But all this hee saith upon the passage of the two swords. The truth is in the exposition of the Gospell, he saith nothing of this reprehension of *Peter*, but passies it over in silence: And for his notes on St. *Matthew*, as also for *Euthymius* his, though I confesse, that I have them not by me, yet (besides that I finde nothing that way in those *Excerpta* that *Lucas Burgenis* hath out of them, who would not probably have omitted the mention of such a rarity if it were there,) I think I may take upon me at at a venture to say, that he that examines those bookes, shall not possibly

possibly meet with more then out of *Theophylact* was cited: These three Expositors running generally on the same notions, and all of them for the most part gleaning from *Chrysostome* (*Euthymius* being his Scholler, *Titus* his profest Epitomater) who I am sure hath nothing in favour of this Exposition. Out of him, as the *Homer* of those after-Expositors, I shall transcribe these few passages, *αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν* in his Homill. 54. On *Matth. c. 26*. Why did hee bid buy a sword? to give them assurance that he should bee betrayed: *οὐχ ἵνα ὑπολάβωσι*, (*ὑποβῶ*) ἀλλὰ ἵνα ἀποδείξωσι δολῶν; not that they should be armed on that occasion (away with that) but to signifie his betraying. Then that their having those two weapons at that time was upon occasion of killing the Lamb for the Passeeover, and the Disciples then comming from Supper, and hearing that some would come to apprehend him, tooke them out from thence with them, *αἱ δὲ πλῆκτρον καὶ ῥομφαία*, meaning to fight for their Master, *ἐπεὶ οὕτως γὰρ ἔμελλεν ἡ μάχη*, which was their opinion onely, not Christs intention: *διότι οὕτως ἔμελλεν ἡ μάχη* ἀντιπροσέτιμος, wherefore *Peter* is chid for using of it: *ὅτι μετὰ σφοδρῆς ἀπειλῆς*, and that with a sound threat; which what can it be, but that about which we now contend *they that take the sword, &c.* upon the hearing of which words saith hee, he straight obeyed and did so no more. Againe, citing the passage in *St. Luke*, *τὸ μαχθῆναι πάντας αὐτοὺς ἵνα πείθων*, he chid and threatened the Disciples into obedience; and then sets downe the words of the threat, *πάντες γὰρ &c.* for all that take. &c. And yet after all these plaine words of reprehending and threatning *Peter* in those words (*all they that take the sword, shall perish by it*) hee yet addes that he comforted his Disciples by two things, first the punishment of the betrayers, applying to that the same speech in a Parenthesis (*They that take, &c.*) and that he suffer'd not unwillingly. All which together signifie clearly the same that we found in *Theophylact* (and presume the utmost either of *Titus* or *Euthymius* their exposition) that in that threatning of *Peter* is intimated also or insinuated anigmatically a threat of those other sword-men that came out with swords and staves to take *Jesus*: which will not be denied by any, or disputed of by me; to the other bee granted, *viz.* that *Peter* was here reprehended and threatned, which is the only thing we quarrell in *Mr. M.* And so much for the second undertaking.

Now, that in the third place, *Grotius* himselfe who cites these

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four ancient, and is here cited by *M. M. de jure belli. l. 1. c. 3. n. 3.* doth not in this place, or any other of his writings, assert this interpretation; I shall thus prove. The thing that in that place hee hath in hand is to inquire, Whether all use of the sword for a mans owne defence, be unlawfull under the Gospell? And he resolves, that in case of one private mans being invaded by another, 'tis lawfull by the Law of Christ (not necessary, but lawfull; a man is only not obliged to the contrary) or notwithstanding the prescribed rules of Christian patience, to kill another in defence of my owne life. Against this, 3 objections he mentions out of the new Testament. *Matth. 5. 39. Rom. 12. 19.* and the saying of Christ to *Peter, put up thy sword, &c. For all they that take the sword, &c.* To these 3 he answers.

1. By opposing some other places of Scripture, that of Christ to his followers, *Luk. 22. 36.* that to buy a sword they should sell a coat. In which company of his auditors there were, saith he, at that time none but his Disciples, and although, saith he, it be a proverbial speech, signifying the great dangers approaching; yet it referr'd to the ordinary use of swords at that time, for private mens defence in time of danger, not there prohibited by him: applying that of *Cicero, Gladios habere cerè non liceret, si uti illis nullo pacto liceret*: We might not be allowed to have swords, if 'twere in no case lawfull to use them. Which still confirms his point in hand, that in some case, the use of the private sword is lawfull.

2. He proceeds to the particular places, saith in the *πῦνδιν ὅτις ἐστὶν ἐκδίκησις*, there is some exception allowed, that it binds only in tolerable injuries; such as the box on the cheek, &c. there mentioned: in the *πῦνδιν ὅτις ἐστὶν ἐκδίκησις* signifies not defence, but revenge. Then for that of *Peter*, it contains, saith hee, a prohibition of using the sword, but not in case of defence: for hee needed not defend himselfe; for Christ had said, let these goe: *Joh. 18. 8.* Nor Christ, for he would not be defended, &c. Besides, saith he, *Peter* tooke up the sword (*in eos qui nomine publicanum potestatem adveniebant, quibus an nullo casu resistere liceat, peculiaris est questio, infra à nobis peculiariter tractanda.*) against those that came in the name of the publick powers, against whom, whether it be lawfull to make resistance in any case, is a peculiar question, to be handled afterward peculiarly. (And, let me pawne my faith for it, Stated negatively.) As for that which Christ addes; All they that take the sword, &c. that

that is, either a Proverb or, (which is the opinion of *Origen*, *Theophylact*, *Titus*, and *Euthymius*,) indicat, it shewes or intimates, that we should not snatch revenge out of Gods hands; and to this applies the place in the *Revel.* a place in *Tertul. ad idonens patientia sequester Dem.* &c. and adds *Simulque his Christi verbis vaticinium videtur inesse de penis, quas a sanguinariis Judais erat exacturus gladius Romanus.* And also in the words there seem to be included a Prophecie of the punishment that the Roman sword should exact of the bloody Jewes. From all which put together this will be the utmost that *M. M.* can conclude, that *Grotius* conceived, that the speech of Christ to *Peter* prohibited not all use of the sword, for private defence (no man saith it did; or that all such defence is unlawfull, our case is onely of resisting Magistrates) that *Origen*, *Theophylact*, &c. owned an exposition of it, that thereby we should be taught, not to take Gods office of revenging out of his hand, (which we also make a speciall part of the importance of that speech, both there, and in the *Revel.* and so a plaine check of *Peter*, who did take it) and that withall in these words a Prophecie seems to be implied of the revenge of Christs death, wrought by *Titus* upon the Jewes, (And we can acknowledge the Scripture, so rich a mine of variety, that it may have this propheticke sense also: though by the way, *Grotius* cites not this out of those four writers, (nor could he, for in *Origen* we find it not) but as from himselfe, *simulq; vaticinium videtur inesse, &c.* But for the literall sense that *Peter* should not be rebuked by Christ, for using defensive armes against the Magistrate, (when with the use of those the leaving vengeance to God is utterly unreconcilable) and Christians conceive themselves bound not to use those armes against the Magistrate for this very cause, because he is *non aliis punishable, revengeable* by God alone:) and yet be rebuked for snatching Gods work out of his hand: Or that these words should not belong in the prime sense to *Peters* fact, as well as in a secondary propheticall seeming oneto the Jewes, there is not any appearances of sound of any word in *Grotius* there, or in any other place in that Book, or his large annotations on the Gospels: which if *Mr. Marshall* had read with his owne eyes, he would confesse with me. And so much for his citation of *Grotius*.

Now in the last place, for the opinion of this learned man *Grotius*, (an excellent Casuist, exactly distinguishing the severall obli-

Of Socin. p. 53

gations of Nature, of *Moses*, and of *Christ*, a Protestant, and, if an Arminian, far from deserving that part of the censure which *M. Chyrenell* layes on such, of being as lawlesse as that faction at Munster, whose Law it was *Magistratibus ac Principibus nullus subijciatur* in the businesse of taking up Armes against a King for just defence, I shall refer you to his first Book, *de jure belli*, & cap. 4. (Not that I can hope you will be moved with his authority when he appears against you, that is not the manner of men now a dayes to be content to be tried by your owne witnesses: but for the satisfaction to conscience which this Authors reasons, and perspicuity will yeeld any Christian Reader) the very place whereto he referr'd the reader even now for his resolution in that point, and the state of this question being set (*An aut privatis aut publicis personis bellum gerere liceat in eos quorum imperio subsunt*) whether any private or publick persons may lawfully wage warre against them, under whose command they are, he defines, that by the very Law of Nature (so much now talkt of) 'tis not lawfull. 2. That by the Law of the Jewes it was not allowed. 3. That it was lesse allowed, but become more unlawfull by the Evangelicall Law, *Rom. 13. 1. & 1 Pet. 2. 12. &c.* And practice of ancient Christians. 4. Confutes the opinion of those that affirme it lawfull for inferiour Magistrates to wage war against the supream, by reasons and Scriptures. 5. Proposes the case of extreame and inevitable necessity, when the King goes to take away a mans life unjustly: and (whatsoever might from nature or practice of the Jewes, as of *David*, or of the *Machabees* be brought to assert resistance in this case) he defines from the Christian Law, (which commands so oft to take up the Crosse) an exacter degree of patience, and particularly when for Religion our Superiours goe about to kill us, though he will allow flight to some sort of men, yet to no man more than flight; but rather rejoycing when wee suffer as Christians: This, saith he, was the course that brought Christian religion to such a height in the world: and resolves it the greatest injury that can bee done to the ancient Christians, to say, that it was want of strength, not of inclinations that way, that they defended not themselves in time of most certaine danger of death. *Tertullian*, saith he, had been imprudent and impudent, if in a writing presented to the Emperours (who could not be ignorant of the truth) he had dared to lye so confidently, when he saith *Non deesset nobis vis numerorum, &c.* most admirable

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rable passages out of ancient writers he there cites for a lease together to the same purpose of dying for the truth of Religion; and never defending themselves by Armes against the illegall will of the lawfull Magistrates. (I beseech Mr. Marshall to send to the shop and read the passages, and consider how farre he hath departed from the primitivensse, and Christianity of those examples.) And to conclude, Though *Grotius* (according to his manner, which is to say all that can bee wisht in any Subject) mentions some cases wherein a King may be resisted, yet if you read them you will find little joy in any of them: As in case a King shall abdicate his Kingdome, and manifestly relinquish his power, then he turnes private man, and so may be dealt with as any other such. And some other the like.

Well, I have said enough of *Grotius* in the businesse, and should adde no more; but I remember I promised to shew that on occasion of these words of Christ to Saint *Peter*, he hath as much against the exposition pretended to be his and the whole doctrine of resistance, as the Kings friends could desire; and that is in his Annotations on the place, *Matth. 26. 52.* Οὐκ ἐστὶν τοῦτο λέγειν, &c. *Neque vo-* In Luke. p. 1.
ro ad Petrum tantum admonitio ista pertinet; sed & ad Christianos 464.
omnes qui à publicis potestatibus ad penam expetuntur ob pietatis
professionem. The admonition belongs not to *Peter* onely, but to all Christians, when they are called by the Magistrate to suffer for the profession of piety; and sets the rule in that case, *μαρτυρεῖτε τὸν κύριον ὅτι ἐστέ*
ἄνθρωποι. to commit our soules to God, to expend our lives in his cause that gave us them; alleaging to this purpose what this *Peter* had learned from this Master, *1 Pet. 4. 16. 19.* and answering the common frivolous objection fetcht from the Law of naturall defence or selfe-preservation, shewing the difference between the use of that liberty against thieves, &c. (against which the Lawes and Magistrates give us the liberty) and against the commands of the Supream Magistrate; whom if in any case of injury, &c. private men may have permission to resist, or repell force with force, *omnia erunt tumultuum plena; nulla legum, nulla judiciorum auctoritas:* the perfect image of our Kingdome at this time when the words are Englished, as God knowes the sense is: and then hee concludes with the case of Religion, wherein there is no place of resisting the higher powers, be their violence never so unjust.

I have undoubtedly made good my foure undertakings in this

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businesse : and shall beseech Mr. *Marshall* hereafter to write more cautiously, lest he provoke men to put him and the world in minde of other unjustifiable passages in his writings, to tell him of (that which in meere charity to him I desire he should know men doe take notice of) his dealing in a Sermon of his about *Josiah's* reformation preacht before the House of Commons long since : and of the applying of the curse that fell on the Inhabitants of *Meroz*, *Jud. 5.* (for not helping their Sovereigne, namely *Deborah*, against a forraigne Enemy, *Jabin*) to those that will not joyne with himsele against his Sovereigne and his Cavaleirs, i. e. those forces raised by him. I wish heartily that Mr. *Marshall* having gotten so much authority, as to be the *Augustine*, the truly polemical Divine of our times, would be so charitable to his Disciples, as to imitate him, in retracting so many of his misadventures, as he cannot chuse but know to be such, and not to impose too intollerably on their credulity : or so tender of his owne reputation, as to acknowledge those himsele, which every man that hath eyes doth discern in his bookes, and would, were it not for meere pity, and the duty of loving enemies, give a large account of.

But I must remember, that Mr. *Marshall* addes two appearances of answer more to that allegation from Christ to St. *Peter* : a word or two of those. Secondly, saith he, *supposing it was a reproofe of Peters using the sword, then the plaine meaning is to condemne Peters rashnesse who drew his sword and never staid to know his Masters minde whether he should strike or not, and so reproves those who rashly, unlawfully, or doubtingly use the sword.* But I pray Sir, are those the words of Christ, *They onely that take the sword without asking, or knowing my minde, shall perish, &c.* Or have we any reason to thinke that Christ would have then dispenced with a known law if he had answered him, and not rather have referred him to be regulated by it, as you see he doth, *for all that take, &c.*

2. To see the unluckinesse of it againe ; the text *Luke 22. 49.* saith expressely that they did aske him, said unto him, *Lord shall we smite with the sword ?* so that the question was askt before he smote : and sure if it had beene Christs pleasure they should smite, one syllable would have exprest it and justified them ; and that might have intervned before his striking : and that it did not intervene is no argument of the lawfulnessse of that striking in him, or the like in us : especially when so sharp a reprehension immediately followes.

3. I shall grant the meaning is to condemne *Peters rashnesse* in doing a thing so unlawfull, without any commission; especially, when it was denied by Christ upon asking: but not that the matter of the fact was perfectly justifiable if abtracted from that rashnesse: or that now Christs judgement being declared by his answer to him, it should be more justifiable in us, who have his example for our document.

4. I shall aske Master *Marshall* whether hee hath asked and received knowledge of his Masters minde or no: he must not meane any of his great earthly Masters (that joyne with him in the war against the supreme: for sure if such tell us we may, or be so minded, that doth not prove that 'tis lawfull; for then I must aske them what Master they asked, and so, if they have none, conclude them in the number of the *rash* smiters) but Christ (for sure he was *Peters* Master) or some taught by him in his Word, who may give him assurance of the mind of Christ: and if this be produc'd wee will be his disciples also. For, for his Supreme Master on earth, the meer-humane Christ, the Lords anoynted, I beleeeve he meanes not that he should be asked, whether he may be, and should be resisted: and as little reason is there for us to be satisfied by being told by any others inferiour to him (especially by the chiefe resisters) that we may lawfully resist.

3. Master *Marshall* addes a consideration, that now was the *houre come of Christs suffering, and not of his Apostles fighting, wherein Christ would not be rescued, no not by twelve legions of Angels, much lesse then by the sword of man: therefore he saith to Peter, put up, &c. but intended not, that it should alwaies be unlawfull for his people to use the sword in their just defence against unjust violence: for then he would never have commanded them but a little before, that he that hath two coats, let him sell one and buy a sword.* To this I answer, 1. That Christ might suffer, though *Peter* did resist; as we know he did, and consequently the *houre* of his suffering being come, could not make it in him a crime to resist, if otherwise it were not. It might make Christ refuse the helpe of his sword, but not produce the text proper to man-slayers against him, unless the fact in it selfe were of that nature. 2. This patient manner of Christs suffering and prohibiting resistance in his just defence, though it were then peculiar and by decree necessary to Christ, yet is it since become matter of example and necessary imitation to us,

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by force of that observation past upon it by St. *Peter*, and entred into the Canon of our Scripture, 1 *Pet.* 2. 21. *Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps, &c.* And this used as an argument to enforce on us that duty, *ver.* 18. of being subject not onely to good and gentle, but also to froward Masters. So that now thirdly, though that check had been peculiar to St. *Peters* act clothed with those circumstances, of being done when 'twas Christs houre of suffering; yet it will be obliging to us also, who are hereunto called, *vers.* 21. to suffer as patiently as Christ did. But then fourthly, we conclude not from any or all of this, that it should bee alwayes unlawfull for Christians to use the sword in their just defence: nor indeed, that it was unlawful then. Kings may and might subdue by the sword their rebellious subjects: and private men might defend themselves from private invaders, and besides the proverbiall meaning of that speech (*of selling a coat and buying a sword*, whereby, say the fathers, he fore-told them the dangers impendent over their heads, in the *ισχυρισμῳ* (*ischurismō*) *Chryst.* and advised them to provide for their owne security) I shall not doubt to acknowledge that this liberty of private defensive resistance is authorized by that same Scripture: But the resisting of the Magistrate by the Subject is the thing that from Christs words to *Peter* we undertake to shew unlawfull, and not any other resistance, and that the swords were appointed by Christ to be bought to that purpose, is not attempted to be proved by Mr. *Marshall*, and to suppose it without prooffe, is to affirme, that no man could invade, or be fit to bee killed but Magistrates. The truth is, here is some art used, either by Master *Marshall*, or some other artificer (interest, prejudice, or the like) By Master *Marshall* to deceive the Reader; or by that other to deceive the composer by using the phrase of just defence against unjust violence (which every man grants lawfull among private men) and concluding that not to bee made unlawfull by this text (which we doe not affirme) whereas all the dispute is of resisting (not simply any man, but peculiarly) the Magistrate (and those that come with authority from him) which we doe affirme to be the very thing exemplified and rebuked in this Text, and so still stands (by that reprehension of Christ) forbidden to us, in despite of Mr. *Marshall's* evasions.

'Twill be now matter of wonder to any that all this paper should

be spent in defence of this one Argument so briefly confuted and dispatch by Master Marshall; but I shall answer that wonder too; First, that at the entering on this examination of those few, the necessity of this length of words was not foreseene; Secondly, that though the escaping the force of this place would not be matter of triumph to Mr. Marshall, because there be other places of the New Testament produced by his Adversaries, yet unanswered; and one is enough to establish a Christian truth: yet the vindicating and clearing of this one from all exceptions, is the absolute carrying the cause against him by that one: And therefore if this may be compassed, (which I am confident is by this discourse) we may spare all further travell in this businesse: and command the Subjects sword taken out (though upon supposition of just defence, how unjustly soever that be pretended) against the lawfull Magistrate to returne to its sheath againe. I wish to God it would obey the command.

Tu verò discipuli & amorem patrum & humilitatem considera: alterum enim ex diligendi fervore; alterum ex obedientiâ fecerat. Nam cum audisset, Mitte gladium tuum in vaginam, statim obtemperavit, & nusquam postea istud fecit. Titus Bostr. in Matth.

Non se sed magistrum est ultus, præterea nondum perfecta & consummata virtus erat. Quod si vis Petri sapientiam intelligere, videbis postea casum & sexcentas injurias passum, nullis malis, nullis calamitatibus perturbatum, sed mansuete omnia tolerantem. Euthym. in Johan.

Ille utitur gladio, qui nullâ superiori ac legitimâ potestate vel jubente vel concedente, in sanguinem alicujus armatur. Nam utique dominus jusserat, ut ferrum discipuli ejus ferrent, sed non jusserat, ut ferirent. Quod ergo incongruum, si Petrus post hoc peccatum factus est pastor Ecclesie: sicut Moyses post percussum Ægyptium factus est rector istius Synagoge? uterque enim non detestabili immunitate, sed emendabili animositate iustitia regulam excessit, uterque odio improbitatis aliena; sed ille fraterno, iste Dominico, licet adhuc carnali, tamen amore peccavit. Aug. l. 22. cont. Faust. Man. c. 70.

FINIS.